

WEST BARBARY,

OR,

J. Somkinson

A short Narrative

Of the

Revolutions

OF THE

KINGDOMS

OF

Fez and Morocco.

With an account of the present Customs, Sacred, Civil, and Domestick.

By LANCELOT ADDISON,
Chaplain to His Majesty in Ordinary.

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STATION

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1850

1850



TO THE
Most Worthy and truly Honored
Joseph Williamson Esq.

S I R,

THE Liberty of Dedications, being the undoubted Priviledge of every Scribler, may save me harmless in prefixing your Name to the ensuing *Remarks*. In which I do not so much design your Patronage, because I cannot fanſie that these Papers will be so much taken notice of as to be que-

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

stion'd for their Faults. But my whole Design on this occasion is to tell the *World*, how much I love your Person, and honour your Worth.

I will not be so vain as to endeavour to represent you to the *World*, or to your *Self*, for you are sufficiently known to *both*; and your excellent Parts & Integrity have not attracted you more honor at home, then they have acquired you *abroad*. For I know your *Reputation* is as happy in *Foreign Countries* for the even *Menage* of Affairs, as in your own.

But

The Epistle Dedicatory.

But to attempt any thing of your *Panegyrick*, were to doe, what is done by all who know you : & therefore I may justly divert my *Pen* to express my *Resentments*, that I can make no Present agreeable to your *Merit* or my *Affection*. For which, I have no other Apology, but either my Unhappiness, or that this is not the Age, when *Temples*, *Altars*, and *Statues*, are erected to Worth and Virtue. Nevertheless, I cannot be so fashionably modest, as altogether to *Vilifie* my Offering, or so far wrong you, as to imagine

The Epistle Dedicatory.

gine it will be despised as utterly *Unprofitable* ; for it must be a Present extreamly *mean*, which so great an *Ingenuity* as yours, will despise ; and a Subject strangely *dry* , from whence so great a Discernment can gather Nothing.

I know, that little worthy a Polite Judgement can be gather'd from a Discourse of People famous only for being Barbarous ; yet if Publick Affairs can spare you minutes enough to read over these *Remarks*, you may perhaps in them meet with so much *Order, Civility*, and (according
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The Epistle Dedicatory.

ing to their way) *Religion*, as
may somewhat refine that
Name. However, if what
I tender may be by you recei-
ved, as it is sincerely intended,
for an Unfeigned Testimony
of my Respect and Affection,
I have accomplish'd my De-
sign, which is without all Ar-
tifice, to declare my self,

*Your Humble, Faithful, and
Devoted Servant,*

LANCELOT ADDISON.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

I*T being the manner of those who Write, to acquaint the Reader with the Design of the Book; if I had any in Publishing this besides your Divertisement, it was chiefly to make the Justice and Religiousness of a People esteemed Barbarous, Rude, and Savage, to reflect upon their Enormities, who would be reckon'd for the only Illuminati of both. And to shew that this Unlick'd, Un-*

To the Reader.

Uncultivated People agree with the wisest Nations, in making the care of Religion and Justice to suppress Vice and encourage Virtue, as the only method to make a State happy.

It was one of the Pedantick Vanities of the Grecians to repute all Barbarous but themselves; and albeit there are some who have the same Opinion of every thing that is diverse from the Manners and Customs of their own Country, yet those who acknowledge Humanity in all its Habits, may in perusing the Remarks made upon these Barbarians, meet with something that may civilize the Title, and induce them to think, that what is commonly call'd Bar-

To the Reader.

Barbarous, is but a different Mode
of Civility. And as for the Truth of what is writ-
ten, I have us'd an Industry as
probable to ensure me thereof, as the
nature of the Subject would give me
leave. Having first travel'd the
Country, and remark'd as much as
such an occasion would afford, and
then retain'd a Conversation with
such Persons, both Moors and Jews,
as I found best able to encrease and
amend my first Remarks. So that
they are not barely the Occasionals of
a Journey, nor scrap'd up from Ca-
sual Discourses, but the result of
some Years Inspection into the Peo-
ple of whom I write; and that I
might not dis-ingeniously impose up-

To the Reader.

On your Belief, I have not contented my self with a single Test, but have rejected several Passages which have not had a sufficient confirmation. It being not my intent to be known for Writing things strange and Romantick, but to be very civil to the World, in putting nothing upon them but what is Firm and Solid.

As for the Dress wherein they appear (though perhaps suitable enough for the matter) I have been therein so negligent as not greatly to regard it, except in the Narrative to preserve coherence. For I conceived, I was not to present you with the Customs of a Nation as I made them, but as they were in themselves,
which

To the Reader.

which could scarcely be done, but by exposing them (thus) naked.

The Narrative of the late Revolutions, &c. is that for which to some I may seem the less accountable, because I insinuate a want of Publick Records among the Moors, out of which it was to have been collected. But there was no such great need of those Assistancess in Penning the Annals of our Age; and the Narrative ascends no higher then the Period of the Xeriffian Family, and the Division of Kiram's Usurpation of the Crown of Morocco, which are very fresh in the minds of the Moors. And yet for the clearer Certainty herein, I have had the assistance of some Ancient observing Moors,

To the Reader.

Moors, who were Actors in the late Revolues. But my best help I had, was from an Aged, Inquisitive, noting Person, an Hebrew Sabio, one Joseph Messias, who for many Years had been Secretary of Tituan, and with great diligence had observed Memoirs of what a long time had happened in that part of Barbary. In what concerns the War between Gaytan and Taffilet, I confess I am not very particular, because much thereof related to Tanger; but what is here wanting, may be supplied in the modern Story of that Ancient City. How far I have been from Transcribing Leo Afer, which some may suspect,

To the Reader.

suspect, will easily appear by comparing what is contain'd in the Remarks of West Barbary, with his Description of Africa. That I have not spoken more largely of their Colleges, needs no other excuse, than that they now use none; and the like may be answer'd for my silence of their Libraries. And how famous soever Mauritania Tingitana hath been in former Ages for a Race of Literati, yet now there is little hope to see a Restoration of their Studies, if it be considered what small regard the present Moors bear to Learning: Which I understood from Cidi Abdella, Gaylan's Secretary, a Spanish Renegado of a bold Capacity; to whom, when I

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To the Reader.

was praising the Ancient Learning of Fez, &c. he told me, That now the Moors were not very fond of Bookish Inclinations, being generally addicted either to Military or Mechanick Employments: and when I read to him out of Don Diego Savedra Taxardo (in the 66th of his Empreſſas Politicas) how that a Learned Age might have as little Valour as Devotion: That all knowledge was ſuperfluous which taught the People more than to Obey, endure Travel, and Conquer: That great Diſcuſſiſts were apt to intrigue Affairs, diſpute the Princes Reſolutions, and ſtir up the People: That it was the beſt Obedience, which was rather Credulous then Inquiſitive.

That

To the Reader.

That the Ottoman Empire, so much enrich'd with the Spoils, and elevated with the Trophies of many Nations, reckon it among their Happineses, not to have their Consultations lime-twigg'd with Quirks and Sophisms of Philosophical Persons, and make Illiterature one of their chief Engines of Empire: That the City may be taken, while the Mathematician is delineating the Fortification: That Nations, Provinces, Colonies, have grown great by Industrious, and not Poring Arts, &c. While I was thus reading to the attentive discerning Renegado, he broke out into a sort of Exultation, and call'd Muley Mahumed to witness, that he thought
Sa-

To the Reader.

Savedra (the Author I read) was
a Moor, or otherwise he could never
have so punctually described the
Humour, and Sentiments of the
Moors concerning Learning: ad-
ding withal, that if they who in their
present Illiterature were so prone to
Sedition, that they would be much
more so, if they were heated with
Bookish Speculations, and had their
Black humour chaf'd and quicken'd
with Subtilizing Studies.

The next thing which may seem
herein omitted, is, that which would
have best pleased the Virtuosi, an
account of their Libraries, for which
I was once sollicit'd by a Letter
from a Student, in the Year 1664
who design'd an Universal Cata-

To the Reader.

logue of Ancient and Modern Writers, and their Books: And though he possess'd me with great hopes of finding great store of Books in Barbary for his purpose; yet upon Enquiry, I met with nothing but Disappointment, and that the Moors are so far from having excellent Libraries, that they wonder to see any Book of Age or Volume in their own Language. This I understood from Cidi Hamet Cogezi (formerly Alcayd of Alcazar) who when in Tanger coming to see the Publick Library that we had Founded there, where I shewed him a MS. in his own Character concerning their Religion, he kiss'd, hugg'd, laid it to his Brow, upon the Crown
of

To the Reader.

of his Head, lifted it up to Heaven, and in every Circumstance appear'd therewith so much transported, that I could scarce rescue it out of his Embraces.

The same MS. I shewed to a Talib (who was one of Tafilets Embérkin, or Messengers of State, sent to Compliment His Excellency the Lord Ambassador, The Illustrious Lord H. Howard at Tanger) who esteem'd it so great a Rarity, that he solicited the Ambassador to beg or buy it for him at any Rate. This Manuscript is now in the Possession of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury His Grace. It is the first part of the Mustadarif (or, as the Talib Expounded it) The Clean Book. It
was

To the Reader.

was compos'd by Alfachì Mahumed Ebn Ahmed Alchab, and Copyed into that fair Letter, wherein it is now extant, by Ali Ebn Abd'alráhman ebn Mahumed, a Native of Suz, who finished it in the second Moneth Giamadi, Anno Hegiræ, 1005.

But these Stories have betray'd me to an unintended length, for which I hope to make some amends in what follows; in which I have endeavour'd, like a merciful Executioner, not to protract your Pain.

THE



A BRIEF NARRATION
Of the late Revolutions in the
KINGDOMES
of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

THIS *Narrative* of the *Revolutions* of *Barbary*, shall not be derived beyond the *Annals* of our own *Memory*. For whose clearer introduction, the contexture of affaires invites us to step back to the notorious *change*, which hapned about the year 1508. Near which time the *Marine Familie* approaching to its design'd period and determination, it fortun'd that a certain *Alfachi*, or *Morish Priest*, in the Province of *Dara*, began to grow into great reputation with the people, by reason of his *high pretensions* to piety and *servent zeal* for their *Law*, illustrated by a stubborn rigidity of conversation

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tion and *outward sanctity* of life. His first name was *Mahumet Ben Amet*; but pretending to be descended from their *Prophet*, he caused himself to be called *Zeriffe*: A Title which the Kindred of that *Impostor* have appropriated to themselves, and made the *character* of that whole *Family*. The credit of his pretended *Pedegree*, was another *Engine* where-with he insinuated himself into the peoples likeing, which together with his seeming severity, made him of no vulgar esteem with a generation, who from time to time have been fooled with such *Mountebanks in Religion*.

The great applause and approbation his person met with from the *Moores*, kindled in him no less an Ambition then of making himself *Lord of Mauritania Tingitana*; which must needs have proved a very *Hypocondriacal designe*, had it not been assisted with a favourable conjuncture of affaires. For the *Mauritanian Princes* had a long time weakned themselves with *civil discords*; and the *Portugals* taking that advantageous occasion, had farr advanced their *Armes*, and arrived at a considerable puissance in *Barba-*
ry,

ry, and were still under a daylie success of new archievements: Besides, the *Moors* desirous of *Novelties*, and sensible of oppressions, both from their own and foreign powers, were sufficiently inclinable to adhere to any, who appeared with probability to deliver them from their present *Toke*.

This now *Zeriffe*, who wanted neither *Witt* nor *Ambition* to conduct or enterprize an innovation, found by the *Starrs*, in whose *Science* his *Legend* makes him very skilful, that the time was not yet suitable for so great an *undertaking*. Religion was his pretence, and nothing could have been so fit beside to advance him in the estimation of *the many*.

To facilitate his designs, he sent his three Sons, *Abdel*, *Abnet*, and *Mahumet* in Pilgrimage to *Mecha* and *Medina*, to visit and worship the Sepulchre of their *Great Prophet*. Much was the reverence and reputation of *Holiness*, which they thereby acquired among the superstitious people, who could hardly be kept from kissing their garments, and adoring them as *Saints*. His admired sons failed not in their parts, but acted as much Devotion,

4 *The Revolutions of*

as high contemplative looks, deep sighs, tragical gestures, and other passionate *Interjections* of *Holiness* could express; *Alà, Alà* was their doleful note, their sustenance the peoples *Almes*. Their Father received them with content and joy, and perceiving the favour and opinion of the people toward him, to continue the same as at the first, he resolved to make use thereof, and thereupon sent *Abnet* and *Mahumet* to the *Court of Fez*, where they were kindly received by the too *credulous King*, who made the elder, *President* of the famous *Colledge Amadorac*, and the younger, *Tutor* of his own Sons. *Advanced* thus in favour at *Court*, and *Grace* with the people, by the Councel of their Father, they desired leave of the *King* to display a *Banner* against the *Christians*; induceing him to believe, that they would easily draw the *Portugal Moors* to their party; and by that means secure the *Provinces of Morocco*. *Muley Nazer* the *Kings* brother, resisted the passion, warning the *King* not to arme this name of *Sanctity*, which being once *Victorious*, might grow *insolent*, and forgetful of *Duty* in minding a *Kingdome*.

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He told him likewise that War makes men awless, and that through *popularity*, many became ambitious and studious of *Innovation*. But the King intoxicated with the Opinion of these *Pilgrims Sanctity*, rejected his Brothers necessary cautions, and gave them a *Banner and Drum*, with *Letters of Credence* to the *Princes and Cities of Barbary*, with twenty horsemen to attend them. Many Wonderful successes awaited upon their *actions*, and all things thrived so well under their conduct, that at last the King of *Fez*, who all along applauded his own Victories in theirs, began to distast them. And seeing they had poysoned the King of *Morocco*, and made *Amet Zeriff* to be proclaimed King in his stead, he mistrusted his own safety, and began but too late to repent his approveing of an *armed hypocrisie*. *Puft up* with their *successes* they forgot their *obedience*, and these *Saints* deny the King the fifth part of their spoyles, and only sent him six Horses and six Camels, and those lean and ill shapen. The King demands his dues, but they answered, That seeing they were lawful successors to *Mahumet*, they ought to pay no man

man *Tribute*, and that they had more right in *Affrica* than himself; but if he would respect them as his *Friends* and *Allies*, they were not froward to embrace him under that quality; but if he expected any more at their hands, they doubted not, but as they had had power to offend the *Christians*, they should not be destitute in defending of themselves; By which it appeared, that they took up *Armes*, not out of *Love* to their *Country* and zeale for their Religion, but out of a desire of Rule.

The sword by both sides was chosen to umpire the contest, which awarded for the *Zeriffs*. For upon the encounter of both the Armies, the *Fessan* Forces after a long and doubtful Battle were defeated; and the *Zeriffs* so well improved the victory, that in few moons they became the uncontrouled *Lords* of the Kingdoms of *Fex* and *Morocco*, in whose *Government* their *Family* continued a considerable summe of years. But not without destructive *Hostilities* among themselves; the Descendents pulling down each other by the like treacheries, that advanced their Ancestors: *The greater*

ter thief ſtil leading the leſs to the Gallows. Their Rebellions appeared under the ſpecious pretences of mending ſome faults in Government, and one *Cozin* depoſed another, under the pleaſing diſguiſe of ſetting up a gentler and more orderly *Dominion*; forgetting that it is ſafer to permit ſome inconveniences in the outer buildings, then to pull the whole ſtructure down; There being corruptions which may ſafelier be *continued* then *removed*.

But notwithstanding theſe *Civil Wars*, the power ſtill remained in the ſame *Familie*, and the diſſention of the branches proceeded not ſo farr as to cut down the tree. And yet about the year 1607. the *Zeriffian Houſe* ſeem'd neer an extirpation by reaſon of *Boféres* and *Sidans* oppoſing *Muley Sheck* their elder Brother in his ſucceſſion. But *Muley Sheck* and *Boféres* dying in the warrs, *Morocco* was left to *Abdalla* ſon of *Muley Sheck*, who ſcarce warm'd the throne, till he was violently pull'd thence by his Uncle *Sidan*, and by an unintended kindneſs freed from the troubles of a *Crown*.

This *Muley Sidan* once more joyned *Fez* with *Morocco*, and in himſelf made the

the *Zeriffian Family* to reigne over both. But he was much infested both by Land and Sea. For *Abdela* a Religious *Hermit*, and *Hean*, one of like hypocrisie and zeal, two opposite *factions* distressed him at Land, and the *Pirates* of *Salla* and *Algier* by Sea. But his great valour maintain'd him against both. For by his own Arms he pacified the tumults at Land, and by the assistance of the English Shipping, he destroyed the *Pyrats* of *Salla*, which so much disquieted the *Ocean*. And this being done he sent to have the like aid against those of *Algier* the Pest of the *Mediterranean*. The tenor of his *Heroick letter* sent to King *CHARLES* of *Great Britain* on this occasion, I have here annexed, with no other designe then to manifest the great esteem, which that *Mahumedan Prince* worthily retained of *CHARLES* the first, our Victorious Martyr.

The

The Letter of the
KING of MOROCCO
To the
KING of ENGLAND.

1625.

WHen these our Letters shall be so happy as to come to your Majesties sight, I wish the Spirit of the Righteous God may so direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the Message I send; presenting to you the means of exalting the Majesty of God, and your own reward amongst men. The Regal power allotted to us makes us common servants to our Creator; then of those people whom we govern: so that observing the duties we owe to God,
we

10 *The Revolutions of*

we deliver blessings to the world ; in providing for the publicke good of our States , we magnifie the honour of God ; like the Celestial Bodies , which though they have much veneration , yet serve only to the benefit of the world. It is the Excellencie of our Office , to be Instruments whereby happiness is delivered to the Nations. Pardon me Sir , this is not to instruct , for I know I speake to one of a more cleer and quick sight then my self ; but I speak this , because God hath pleased to grant me a happy victory over some part of those Rebellious Pyrates , that have so long molested the peaceful trade of Europe ; and hath presented further occasion to root out the Generation of those,

who

who have been so pernicious to the good of our Nations : I mean, since it hath pleased God to be so auspicious to our beginnings in the conquest of Salla, that we might joyne and proceed in hope of like success in the War against Tunis, Algier, and other places (Dens and Receptacles for the inhumane villanies of those who abhor Rule and Government.) Herein whilest we interrupt the corruption of malignant Spirits of the world, we shal glorifie the great God, and performe a duty that will shine as glorious as the Sun and Moon, which all the Earth may see and reverence : a work that shall ascend as sweet as the perfume of the precious Odours, in the Nostrils of the Lord.

Lord. A work grateful and happy unto men : a worke whose memory shall be revered so long as there be any that delight to heare the Actions of Heroick and Magnanimous Spirits ; that shall last as long as there be any remaining amongst men, that love and honour the Piety and Vertue of Noble minds. This action I here willingly present to You, whose Piety and Virtues equall the Greatness of your Power : that We who are Servants of the Great and Mighty God, may Hand in Hand Triumph in the Glory which this Action presents unto us. Now because the Islands which you Govern, have been ever famous for the Unconquered strength of their Shipping, I
have

have sent this my trusty Servant and Ambassador to Know, whether in your Princely Wisdome You shall think fit to assist me with such Forces by Sea, as shall be answerable to those I provide by Land: which if You please to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will protect and assist those that fight in so glorious a Cause. Nor ought You to think this strange, that I, who much reverence the Peace and accord of Nations, should exhort to a Warr. Your great Prophet Christ Jesus was the Lyon of the Tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and Giver of Peace: which may signifie unto You, that he which is a lover and maintainer of Peace, must alwaies appear with the terror of his sword,
and

14 *The Revolutions of*
and wading through Seas of Blood,
must arrive at tranquillity. This
made JAMES your Father of
glorious memory, so happily renowned
amongst all Nations. It was the
Noble fame of your Princely Vertues,
which resounds to the utmost corners
of the Earth, that perswadeth me to
invite You to partake of that bles-
sing wherein I boast my selfe most
happy. I wish God may heap the
riches of his Blessings on You, in-
crease your happiness with your days,
and hereafter perpetuate the great-
ness of your Name in all Ages.

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The Traders into the *Levant* have reason to bewail, that the condition of his Majesties affaires would not give him leave to entertain this motion: which in all probability can never be revived with such promising circumstances, as it might then have been enterprized; for those Pyrats were then inconsiderable to what they are now; for by the computation of their encrease in Shipping and Skill in Navigation, if not timely subdued, they in short time may bid defiance to the Christian in the Mid-land Seas. And albeit the proposal was not embraced, yet it loudly spoke *Sidan* a Prince of Generous Designs, and Noble Ambitions; and one who aimed at the Advance and Security of Trade, the Common interest of the World.

Muley Sidan having reduced the affairs of State to a great degree of Quiet, he finish'd both Life and Reign at once, contrary to the example of the most of his Predecessors, whereof few either Reigned to the natural length of their Life, or were suffered to live beyond the violent shortness of their Reigne. Upon
his

his Death, *Muley Abdelmeleck* his eldest Son, enter'd upon the fruition of his Fathers Atchievements. He was a person of much flegm and indifferency, naturally fitted for a tame and peaceable Empire, into which he was happily inaugurated, but not long continued, for in the second year of his reigne he was unnaturally assasined by his second Brother *Luellud*, whose ambition broke all bonds of Nature and Politie to ascend a Throne. But the infamous fratricide was presently thrown from his usurped greatness: for having by a powerful example taught the nearest method to weare a Crown, he was clandestinely Murder'd by his youngest Brother *Muley Hamet Sheck*, before he had accomplish'd the period of twenty Months in his Kingdome. And it is remarkable that *Muley Shek* pretended to no vengeance of his eldest Brothers death in that of his second; but that he acted it only out of an itch to obtain the Government, seconded with a suspicion of his own safety; which could not be great, while his Brother might justly fear him as a Rival for the Kingdome.

Muley

Muley Sheck being the last of the Brothers, and thereby without any to competition him, he studied to make both his Government and Person gracious to the people. In which artifice he was so prosperous, that no Sultan in *Barbary* had equal'd him in a confluence of happiness. The Skie of his Reigne was for nineteen years serene: and there were no prognosticks of alteration in his condition, till *Laella*, one of his Wives, began to be exorbitant in her appetites, and to meditate disloyalty to her Husband's Bed. She is reported to have been a woman of a refined subtilty, and learned in the most artful methods of stealing her pleasures. But at length she fell excessively enamour'd of her own kinsman, one *Cidi Kirum*, whom the King had adopted into his *Grace* and *Conversation*. This *Kirum* was of a popular inclination, and skilful in feeding the humours of the people. He had been at *Mecha* in Devotion, and of course received for that *visitation* the title of *Hadge*, granted to all that have performed the *Hage*, or Pilgrimage to their Prophets Tomb. By this, and a great shew of ex-

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terior Religion, he had with men of all capacities purchased a significant reputation. And albeit he was a wel-wisher to an Innovation, the common designe of their pretended Piety, yet the present face of affaires look'd very disagreeable upon such an enterprize. For the King so rul'd; that all had cause to love, and none to feare him, and the courteousness of his personal behaviour, had secured him a large share in the worst of his Subjects bosoms; His custom being to punish and spare none, who were convict offenders against their Law, the known Rule both of their Religion and Politie. And for the greater discouragement of all commotions, the *Zeriffian* name was grown sacred with the Moors, through its long continuance: and they concluded its prosperity a Divine approbation of its Right.

Kirum no doubt was still as covetous to enjoy the Crown, as *Laella* his Bed; whose amours at last grew to that height of impatience, that nothing could quiet them, but the embraces of her Paramour in a Regal State; which she plotted with a feminine invention. The death of
the

the King her Husband was the only secure *Recipe* for her distemper, but altogether of an unsafe accomplishment, if enterprised by open violence. Wherefore she is reported to have essayed his Death by Sorcery's; in which wickedness (Story tells us) that the Mahumetan Women have alwaies been dexterous. But not precisely to determine, by what way *Muley Hamet Sheck* came to his Grave, it is certain that his end was suddain and unexpected, and that he shut up his life before he had seen the twentieth yeare of his Reign. His decease was much lamented, and the more because it came unsuspected. The Government lineally descended upon his Son *Muley Labesh*, a child of three years old, whom his dying Father bequeath'd to the protection of *Kirum El Hadge*, and other Grandees of the Kingdome, appointing them to administer the affaires of State in *Labesh*'s name, till he was come to the age of eleven years. In which time *Kirum* was so balanc'd with his fellow Regents, that he durst not attempt the least alteration. But such was the crafty conduct of his demeanor, that he had

made many of the *Almocadens* among the *Alarbs* to be his *creatures* and ready at his Devotion, and of whose assistance he might rely, when he saw it convenient to time a Revolution: which he deferr'd to the entrance of the second yeare of *Labesh's* reigne, being the thirteenth of his age. At which time *Kirum* secretly retired from Court, and was not heard of, till he appear'd in the head of a numerous Army of *Alarbs*, whom he had allured into Rebellion with the promises of large Incoms, the baite disloyalty still leaps at.

Labesh quickly took the Alarm, and with considerable Forces marcht toward *Kirum*, if possible to end the Warr in the place where it was begun. The Moors highly extol the valour and conduct of this young King, who forgetting the delights and toys of that age, devoted himself to the severities of Military Discipline, constantly watching in the Camp, or courageously fighting in the Battel. For four years His fortunes and *Kirum's* had their vicissitudes, for so long they fought with dubious presages of the event; till Treachery at last is said to have
given

given *Kirum* that conquest which courage could not ; for *Labesh* being invited by *Kirum* to receive his Recantation, met with a Barbarous death, where he hoped to receive a Loyal subjection. Others report that *Kirum* slew him with his own hands in that fatal Battel, which proved the finishing overthrow.

After the death of *Labesh*, *Kirum* became too powerful for the resistance of his scattered Forces, haveing none left under whose conduct they might venture their last Efforts ; so that now all oppositions being removed with the King, *Kirum* made a quiet march to *Morocco*, where the Citizens received him with all the significations of subjection, in whose imitation the adjoyning *Cavilas* brought in the pledges of their Allegiance to *Kirum* : which they did not intermit, till by a natural death he resign'd the Kingdom to his Son *Muley Boucar*, who after the short reigne of three months was dethron'd by *Taffalete*, of which Revolution more will be said in the story of that prevailing *Zeriff*.

The Moors having for a long season been torn and distracted with the unnatural

tural Murders of *Sidans* Sons, and wearied out with following those Wars, which had no juster causes than private interests and envious Annimosities, began at last to provide for their own peace and safety. The adored *Zeriffian* Family was extinct in *Labesh*, whereby they were quitted from obedience to that Race. *Kirum* by several of the *great ones* living distant from the Court, was looked upon as one, both by unjustness of title, and meanness of Pedegree, unfit to receive their Allegiance. In this shaken and doubtful State of affairs, some stood neuter in their judgements, but outwardly complied with the present Government; others resolved to stand upon their Guard, choosing rather to run the hazards of War, than to enjoy the safety of a dishonourable Peace.

Cidi Hamet-Ali-Haiashi, *Cidi Mabumet Ben-el Hadge-Ben-Boucar*, and the *Zeriff* of *Benzaruel* were the *Chiefs* in these new commotions, but all opposite factions, and all *Alarbs*, and all great Saints: The last of the three contented himself with the protection of *Ben Zaru-el*, a large Cavila, almost impregnable
by

by nature, in whose Government his Ancestors for many years had lived in peace. But after two months of stout resistance was subdued by *Tafilete*; who took with him the Aged *Zeriff*, and dispersed his Family, of which there perhaps will be an opportunity of speaking more in another paragraph.

Haiáshi and *Ben-Boucar*, gifted with greater ambitions, laboured to enlarge the Curtains of their Territories, and each seem'd to aime at no less then the Empire of Mauritania Tingitana. Their outward Sanctimony equald them in the peoples affection and esteem, and if they could have reconciled their Interests, and joyned in the same designe, they had shared that state, which both lost, while each would have all or none: of whose rise and fall these succeeding periods will give you information.

Cidi Hamet Ali Haiáshi was an *Alarb*, (or one of that sort of *Moors*, who live under Tents and in Mountains, without any fixed habitations, as I shall shew in my notices upon this Country,) who had the learning of a *Talib*, and sanctiry of a *Marabout*; by which he was esteemed as an

Oracle among his Countrymen, who upon all Emergent occasions repaired unto him for advice and Instruction; which they received as Infallible, and obey'd as a Law. His Parentage according to the *Moresco Heraldry* was not obscure; for the Government of *Abenimálec* was Hereditary to his Family, and legally descended to his possession. Which *Abenimálec* being a very large Cavila, upon the river of *Mamora*, was by *Haiasshi* governed with that politick carriage, which made him revered of his own people, and fear'd of his neighbours, as appear'd in their ready abetting his enterprises.

The late suspected death of *Muley Sheck*, together with the violent murther, and dethroning of his Son, both *Haiasshi's* beloved Sovereigns, made *Kirum*, whom he suppos'd to have been as well the secret contriver of the first, as he saw him the open actor of the second villany, to be odious to his thoughts, and unfit for his obedience. Revenge, whose lawfulness is an Article in the *Mocrs Creed*, put *Haiasshi* into Arms, with intent, if not to depose *Kirum* from being King, yet

yet at least keep himself from becoming his Subject. His first Musters consisted ownly of the Levies of his own *Cavilla*, to which were daily accessions of the Neighboring *Almócadens*, which helpt to adjust his Insurrection. His Forces being soon increased above his hopes, he order'd his March toward *Fez*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of that name. This ancient City was now govern'd by *Ubabà*, *Kirums* Creature; who upon the advance of *Haiáshi's* Forces, secretly stole away to *Morocco*, as not daring to trust himself to his own valour, or the fidelity of the Citizens. By the flight of *Ubabà*, *Fez* being left Governorless, it became the easie Atchievement of *Haiáshi*; under whose Command it continued seven Years, and was a fair addition to his Greatness and Safety, being (as was said) the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

Haiáshi by his Successes began to be the envy of *Ben-Boucar*, who for some Years after his Revolt from *Morocco*, contented himself with the solitary Dominion of *Záwia*, where he lived in a House of that name, which for its Religious

26 *The Revolutions of*

gious Foundation, was become a Sanctuary, or Refuge for Offenders. The Inhabitants of *Záwia* are reported to be very numerous and Warlike, yet by reason of remoteness, they created *Haiáshi* very small Disturbances; besides, *Ben-Boucar* was unwilling to refer himself to the uncertain Decision of the Sword, which, in all probability, must have given the Victory to *Haiáshi*, by whose Forces he was far exceeded. He therefore betook himself to Stratagem, and consults with *Ali Ben Hamet*, *Almocaden* of *Saphian*, one whom *Haiáshi* had not yet entirely subdued, by what method their common Enemy might be removed. Now the *Moors*, in removal of those they hate, seem to know no other Policies, besides an armed Violence, and secret Massacre. The two Conspirators saw their inability to undertake the former, and therefore resolved to put the latter in execution.

Ali Ben Hamet greedy of that sweet bit Revenge, and to express it upon *Haiáshi*, who had dispoiled him of his Right, undertook to be his Assasinate: which he thus effected. *Haiáshi* being lodged in

in his Tent near *Azount*, a Fountain he greatly esteemed in the *Cavila* of *Atcleik*, about six Leagues North of *Alcazar*, was in the Night visited by *Ali*, accompanied with about 70 Horse, who came not with any shew of Hostility, but with a pretence of Friendship, declaring, That his Errand was design'd to render himself *Haiáshis* Subject, and to receive the continuance of his *Cavila* from his hand, Under this Cloak *Haiáshi* received him into his Tent, and thereby gave him the opportunity of Murthering him, which he effected with one Stab. The Murtherer had his Accomplices ready to make his Escape, which was the less difficult, because *Haiáshi* had no Guards, which he had declined either to save Charges, or dissemble his confidence in the *Moors*, who are best made faithful by being trusted; but very vindictive, when they find themselves suspected.

Ben-Boucar being ascertain'd by *Ali* of *Haiáshis* treacherous Slaughter, in the Twelfth Year of his Revolt, he incessantly marcht to take Possession of his Country, which he found ready at his Devotion; either because the People were

were unprovided for Opposition; or, that they thought *Ben-Boucar's* Superiority was less obnoxious to exception, than any other they could elect. The *Almôcadens*, mindful of their accustomed method to preserve their Commands, secretly one after another subscribed to *Ben-Boucar's* Regiment; onely *Fex* and *Alcaxar* cost him some time and Blood in their Reduction. But at last they yielded upon Articles, *Arzila* having first shown them the way. *Ben-Boucar's* next March was to *Tituan*, govern'd by the Ancient and Worthy Family of the *Nar-fis*, out of which he had received a Wife, and by that Relation was welcome to the Supremacie of that City.

Ben-Boucar having brought this part of *Barbary* to his subjection, resolved to return to *Zâwia*: But before he left the Country, he took from the *Grandeess* thereof, the best Assurances he was able for their Obedience and Fidelity. Next, he disposed the Towns of greatest Importance, to the Government of his Sons and Favorites. To his eldest Son *Abdalla* he entrusted the Rule of *Salla*, which he had observed proner to Sedition than the

the rest, and yet much addicted to Persons famed for Piety, for which *Abdalla* was arrived at a Saintship. To his second Son *Mahumed*, he committed the care of *Fex*, to whom he saw the People thereof have a peculiar Inclination. To his third Son *Hamet Zéer*, or *Hamet the less*, he gave the command of *Sheball*, a Mountain of rude Inhabitants, yet much addicted to obey a fierce nature, where-with *Hamet Zéer* was furnished. *Arzila* he left to *Benzéir*, a Thing of his own framing : And *Alcazar* to *Cidi Benzian*. After this Partition, he returned to his Religious *Záwia*, where in great Peace he enjoyed the fruits of his War, making the easiness of his Yoak an argument with the People to bear it.

But the memory of *Haiáshi's* treacherous Death (compassed by *Ben-Boucar*) was still fresh in the Breasts of those Sons, whose Fathers had their Fortunes thereby depress'd ; which *Ben-Boucar*, as he could not but know, so he could not but conclude, *That the vindictive Spirit of a Moor would take the first occasion of avenging*. In prevention whereof, he took with him to *Záwia* such Sons

as

as he saw were likeliest to inherit their Fathers hatred against him ; nor as Hostages of Peace, but as Pledges of his Care, whom being as yet in their nonage, he loved to Print with the Characters of a peaceable acquiescence in his Authority. Among these Youths, young *Gaylan* was most considerable, and indeed the only Person that he detained whose Story now succeeds, in which will be supplied what is here wanting of *Ben Boucar*.

In *Beniworfut*, near to *Arzila*, lived the Family of the *Gaylans*, which was of that sort of *Moors* stiled *Barabars*, and to which through flux of time, the Government of that *Cavila* was become Hereditary. This House (though never low or obscure) began to be signally advanced in *Ali Gaylan* the Father, which proved but a Prophecie of its downfall in *El Hader* the Son ; whose Ambition lost what the others Humility had obtained. *Ali* was in great favor with *Hai áshi*, and a chief Engine of his advancement, in which he was observed not much to endeavor his own. But his greatest Renown sprang from his Zeal for the

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Mahumetan Law, an Artifice which seldom failes, & a knack with which who-soever is gifted, cannot want Reverence among the *Moors*. *Arzila* being much moved with his Sanctity, invited him to a residence among them, which they rewarded with considerable Rents, and great Testimonies of respect.

This *Ali Gaylan* spent the last Scene of his Life with great satisfaction to *Haiáshi's* prosperity, whom at his Death he left without any threatening Progno-sticks of an alteration in his State: But when he grew sensible of the near approaches of his end, he called for his Beloved *El Hader*, to whom he recommended the care of his Family, Government of his *Cavlla*, imitation of his Conversation and Faith to *Haiáshi*. *El Hader* was too young for the undertaking all this when his Father dyed, which caused the provident Parent to leave him to the careful Tuition of *Hamet Benzlan*, *Almocaden* of *Beni-Hards*, with whom he remained, till removed thence by *Ben-Boucar*, after the reducement of *Haiáshi*. About the xxiv of his Age, this *El Hader Ben Ali Gaylan*, was married to the Daugh.

Daughter of one *Akadim*, a principal Man in *Benimorfut*, upon which Marriage he had license to return home; a Concession that proved very fatal to *Ben-Boucar*. For *El Hader* being got to his own Territories, where he received an affectionate wellcome; there happened a Commotion in the populous *Cavilla's* of *Saphean*, *Sháwia*, and *Homár*, (all *Alarbes*) which denyed to pay *Ben-Boucar* the accustomed Rights, & were so far from an obedient tender thereof, that they inhumanely murdered his two Brethren, *Abdelhálac* and *Mislinievi*, whom he sent to demand them.

The news of this Insurrection quickly arrived *El Hader*, who thereupon, with some of the best Horse of his *Cavilla*, instantly posted to *Alcazar*, where according to Intelligence he met with *Ali Ben Hamet*, *Haiáshi's* Murtherer, whom with his own hand he killed, in revenge of the Murther he had committed upon his Fathers Friend: In whose death, he pull'd down one of *Ben-Boucars* best Supporters in this Canton of his Dominion. Next he speeded to *Arzila*, forsaken by *Ben-Boucars* Alcáyde, who upon the rydings

of *Hamets* death, and the *Alárbes* revolt, durst not trust himself among a People whom he saw zealously to favor his Masters Enemy.

Upon this *Gaylan* appeared at *Arzila*, which was very acceptable to his Fathers old Admirers, who readily yielded him their utmost Assistances, and were seconded with several of the adjacent *Cavila's*. *Ben-Boucar* coming to chastize the seditious *Alárbes*, and to avenge his Brothers blood, which he speedily dispatc'd; his next care was to render *Gaylan* sensible of his Deportment, who, upon his advance, took sanctuary in *Arzila*, where he lay immured, till such time as necessity forced *Ben-Boucar* to withdraw his Levies. Upon every such retreat, *Gaylan* was still at his wonted disturbances, and yet upon every return of the Enemy, he betook himself to the protection of *Arzila*: Out of which nothing could fetch him, but a close, tedious, and expensive Siege, a thing ill agreeing with the *Moors* Custom and Provision.

Ben-Boucar, weary of that Fatigue, in which for some Years he had been exercised,

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cised,

cised, and whereof he saw no end, proffer'd *Gaylan* this Accommodation: That if he would pay him the accustomed Tributes, and an acknowledgement of superiority, he should peaceably possess the Government of *Arzila*, and his own *Cavila*. *Gaylan* was not backward to accept an Accommodation so favorable to his present Condition and future Designs; being at that time shut up in *Arzila*, and yet entertaining an ambition of making himself Lord of the Countrey. This accommodation being ratified, *Ben-Boucar* returned home, and *Gaylan* was set at liberty to take his Divertisements in the Countrey, where his plausible Fortune and Personage, Zeal for their Law, and reservation of Carriage, made the Grandees of the Countrey greatly affected with his Society. *Gaylan* finding himself under so favorable an Aspect, thought of Strengthening his Intentions by contracting Alliances with the best *Casis*: whereupon he took him a second Wife, a Daughter of *Cassian Shot Almocadem* of the *Cavila* called *Angera*, a Warlike Family, and descended of the *Andalusian* Moors banished *Spain*.

His

His third Wife was the Daughter of *Cogér Alcáyde* of *Alcazar*, and a leading Person in that part of the Countrey. His fourth was a Virgin Daughter of *Mufadal*, Governor of *Tituan*, which made up the *legal number* of four, so many being allowed by their Prophet: upon the death of his second Wife, to keep up the account, he married the Daughter of one *Messimd*, a popular Person in *Tituan*, and descended of a Saint.

By these Alliances he got an Interest both in the Persons and Places of greatest moment in this part of the Countrey, by which he was animated to break with *Ben-Boucar*: a design of such nature, that *Gaylan* durst not venture thereon in any open Declaration, but advisedly disguised it under a pretended Enterprise against the Christians, Garrison'd in several Towns on the *Barbary* Coast, maintained by the Crowns of *Portugal* and *Spain*. Which to effect the better, he first shewed the *Moors* how their Prophet, both by his *Example* and *Doctrine*, had taught them to exercise their Revenge against all Opposers of his *Law*; and that whoever should dye in

its Defense or Propagation, were assured of Paradise ; and then concluded, how much it would redound to the honor of that Generation, if they should drive the Christians out of their Country, to *which* and their Religion they were the *common Enemy*.

This Proposal was strangely moving with People of all capacities, and the report of *Gaylans* Intentions against the Christians, induced many to be his Followers, who otherwise would have eschewed his Company : But having drawn in some by his Affinity, others with fair Promises, and the generality with Religious Pretences, he began a little to pull aside the Vail, and shew the naked Face of his Design. Having given some Testimonies of his Zeal and Valour against the Christians, and enraged them to an activity above what they had of late expressed : He likewise laid before them their necessity of Union, and that they should combine under one Leader, the better to carry on what they had begun. He also set before them their unhappiness to be governed by one whom *age* and *distance* render'd so unfit to relieve them,

them, in case of sudden necessity ; and withall magnified his Title to the Government of the Country, equal to *Ben-Boucars*. The People found no reason to dispute any part of *Gaylans* Harangue, in which they could perceive he aimed at nothing but their safety. Whereupon the *Alcáyde* of *Alcasar*, *El Haders* Father-in-law, was the first that declared for his Government, who was seconded with several other *Grandees* of the Countrey, so that in short time all the *Cavilla's* which *Ben-Boucar* had taken from *Haiáshi*, left him as they had done their former Master, and adhered to *Gaylan*. But *Sálla* and *Tituán* utterly dissented from the rest, and instead of yielding a tame submission to *Gaylans* Empire, they altogether resisted him. This moved *El Hader* to advance his Forces first against *Tituán*, which he found very stubborn : for *Abdel Crim Nacfis* (the chief Governor thereof) would be inclined to no thoughts of *Peaceification* or *Surrender*, while he could cherish any hopes of being relieved by his near Relative *Ben-Boucar*. But at length, despairing of any Succors, and

seeing the great spoils *Gaylan* was like to make of their Vineyards, Gardens, and Houses of Pleasure about the Town, which the Inhabitants highly valued for their profit and delight; he sought to prevent him in that desolation, by a mature and timely Address for Peace: which was welcome News to *Gaylan*, being very covetous to be Master of a place so considerable for Strength, Riches, and Traffick. The Articles were soon concluded, *Gaylan* demanding no more than their subjection, a constant Levy of Soldiers to serve him on occasions of greater moment; and that one of his own Election should be equal in the Government with *Nacfis*. Upon this Pacification with *Tituan*, *Gaylan* march'd against *Salla*, which was under the Rule of that great Saint, *Abdala Ben-Boucar*, who upon weak Temptations retired to the Castle, leaving *Gaylan* the Signory of the Town, wherein he placed some Forces of his own, to secure the Inhabitants from Apostacy. But not long after, *Abdala* being sore pressed for want of Provisions, and hopeless of being succored by his Father, privily quitted the Castle, having

having first of all sent away in an English Frigate, his Wives to *Phedalla*.

The gaining of this Castle made *Gaylan* sole Master of this North West Canton of *Barbary*, beyond which he was never able to enlarge his Territories; albeit he was struggling for more room, as foreseeing that endeavors after more, was the means to be secure of what he had got already. He often tryed his valor upon the *Xerif*, *Hamet Bocalla*, chief of *Benzaruel*, and *Beni-Halet*, but his Attempts still proved successless, for those *Cavila's* are almost inaccessible by reason of their Mountainousness. *Eris*, *Botola*, *Beniuphrash*, *Benimisgildah*, and *Benijaacòb*, being all large *Cavila's* which for Generations had been govern'd by the house of *Arras*, under the title of *Alcayde*, never receiv'd any attempt of *Gaylan's* reducing them. And albeit he wanted neither courage nor ambition to have made himself Sultan of *Barbary*, yet his Stars denyed him that Grandeur, and he was never able to stretch his Arm beyond the command of 22 *Cavila's*, whose names are hereunto annexed, with the number of their usual levies of Men for the Wars.

The List of the Names of the Cavila's, with the number of their Forces, which were under Gaylans Government in the Year, 1666.

1. **A** Ngerá, under the command of Cassian Shot, Gaylans Father-in-law, is a large Cavila, inhabited with Barabars, and is able to raise 500 Foot, and an equal number of Horse.

2. Wadròss, the nearest Neighbor to Tanger, yields upon any urgent occasion 800 for the Wars, in equal number of Horse and Foot.

3. Benidér, about ten Leagues from Tanger, can bring 500 Foot and a thousand Horse to the Field.

4. Minkéí, a small Cavila, not able to leavy above 500 in all.

5. Hammihárshen is well Peopled, and able to advance 1000 in all; the greatest part Foot.

6. Hamnizbuer commonly raiseth as many.

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7. *Alkaróbbé*, being a large and well-inhabited *Cavilla*, is able, upon a small warning, to arm out 1500 Horse and Foot in equal numbers; it is govern'd by *Mahumet Akadim*, and *Lassin Akadim* his Brother, who revolted from *Gaylan* and sided with *Tafilete*.

8. *Beniómbras*, of Horse and Foot can raise a thousand; it is governed by *Ali Azús*, who revolted from *Gaylan* to the *Xeriff*.

9. *Beniharòs* is next adjoyning to the former, and able to send 1200 to the Field: This *Cavilla* is govern'd by *Lasin El Phut*, who was the first that invited *Tafilete* to advance against *Gaylan*, promising him his assistance.

10. *Beni Joseph* is a *Cavilla* of two days Journey, able to raise 3000 in all, but very few Horse: It is very Mountainous, and so fortified by Nature, that it has often attempted to stand upon its own defence. It is govern'd by *Lazid Ali Mahumed*, who left *Gaylan* upon the approach of *Tafilete*.

11. *Sumátta* is a small *Cavilla*, whose usual levy is 500 of all sorts: It is govern'd by *Talib Ali Elfiluz*, who joyned with *Tafilete*.

12. *Be-*

12. *Beniworfut*, which advanc'd 600 Horse, and as many Foot: The Government hereof belongs to the House of *Gaylan*, but since *Tasilets* Empire, the *Almocaden* thereof is one *Mahumed Dengith*.

13. *Arzila* and *Salli* make one *Cavila*, and when but easily charged, raise 500 Foot, and as many Horse; they are governed by an *Alcayde*.

14. *Halixérif* raiseth with *Alcazar* 1200 Foot in all: it belongs to the *Alcayde* of *Alcazar* who in *Gaylans* time was *Mahumet Coxbez*, but now *Ali*.

15. *Kiton*, which being very small, its Forces exceed not 200.

16. *Benimadar* yields about the same number.

17. *Beni Zaid*, which if the same with that in *Leo Afer*, must yield more Soldiers then 500, though that was the ordinary levy exacted by *Gaylan*.

18. *Alcouff* is a small *Cavila*, lying between *Alcazar Ezzaguer*, and *Ceuta*, which usually sent in 200.

These are all, or the most of them *Barabars*, who have fixed Habitations, living

living in Neighborhood and a settled Conversation; and of these consisted *Gaylans* chief Forces: yet he had besides these four *Cavila's* of *Alárbes*, namely, *Delholèt*, *Sháwia*, *Beni-Guedar*, and *Saphián*, which are reported to be very numerous and Warlike, lying West of *Salla* and *Alcazar*: But by reason of their untractable nature, and floating manner of living, they are not so certain in their Musters, nor ready upon Emergencies. These *Gaylan* could never bring under a perfect subjection, but was content they should pay some small Tribute in acknowledgement to his Superiority.

The above mentioned *Cavila's* were the total of *Gaylans* Dominions, beyond which he could never make any Enlargement. He was for the space of twelve Years prosperous in his Government, and the general success of his Enterprises, raised him highly in the estimate of his Followers: It being the Genius of this People, to make the prosperity of the *Acti*, an undoubted argument of its Justice, and the voice of Heaven to approve it.

Gaylan from his Youth was trained up in

in Arms: And for the Adventures he had made upon *Tanger*, when *Portugues*, was called the *Almocaden* of those Fields. But not to mention any thing of his proceedings against the Christian (that being no design of this Paper) we find him constantly in War with the *Moor*. *Ben-Boucar* was still Master of *Fez*, and ready upon every frail Temptation to enter *Gaylans* Frontiers, which kept them both in continual Hostility. The People at length wearied out with the incessant Troubles occasioned by these Rivals for the Supremacy, were ready to adhere to some third Party, able to settle the Government in such a single Person, as both by Title and Strength should be above an ordinary Competitor: Which unexpectedly came to pass in the Sixteen hundred and sixty fifth of the Crucifixion; for about the entrance of that Year, *Muley Reshid* first appeared with the Prognosticks of a Revolution; of whom I here set down this short Account.

In the Province of *Dara*, in *Numedia*, the Countrey of *Mahumed Ben Amet*, Founder of the *Xeriffian* Empire, there arose

arose a *Mulatto* (one whose Father was white, and Mother black) one *Reshid Ben Mahumed*, a Native of the Town of *Tafflete*, the place whether *Mahumed* (the second Son of *Mahumed Ben Amet*) the second of that Family (who was Emperor of *Morocco*) had confined his eldest Brother *Amet*, whom he had taken Prisoner. This *Reshid* ripening in Years and discretion, began to make himself known to the World by the name of the *Xeriff* of *Tafflete*: By which Title he made himself descended of the *Xeriffian* House, which so long had enjoyed the Empire of *Barbary*, and of the Prophet *Mahumet*. [*Xeriff*] (as was said) being a Name peculiar to that Deceiver. And because a research into *Moresco* Genealogies shall have labour for the pains, I shall enquire no further after *Reshids* Pedigree, then to observe that his Father was one *Muley Mahumed*, a Prince of great Authority in *Numedia*, who besides his four legal Wives, had several Concubines; of one of which, being a *Negra*, he begot this *Reshid*. His Father dying while he was a minor, he was committed to the Tuition of his Elder Brother

46 *The Revolutions of*

Brother *Muley Hamet Ben-Mahumed*. This *Reshid* having accomplisht his Pillage, began to look into his Condition, and to enquire what was left him by his deceased Father: For by the *Moresco* Institutes, the Sons of Concubines are equal Sharers in the Patrimony with those of the lawful Wives. While *Reshid* made himself the comparative of his Brother, he was lost into an Emulation, that spurr'd him into the endeavours of promoting his Fortunes. He saw his own Condition, and that of Publick Affairs, qualified for no other Proposal to effect his desired Advancement, but what was to be obtained by the Sword: Whereupon he consulted with his own *Genius*, by what Artifice he might soonest imbroil *Barbary* in a new War, and communicated the Design with some few *Moors* of his own Complexion. At the first opening of his Adventure, his Retinue exceeded not the number of thirty, and those of an inferior Quality, who yet, by reason of the contractedness of their Lots, were disposed to execute any Proposition that was probable to enlarge them.

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With this paucity of Adherents, *Reshid* secretly withdrew from *Tafilete* to *Tessa*, a place abounding with Inhabitants, but as poor as numerous. Here *Reshid* received the Royal Title of *Muley*, and was Proclaimed King of *Tafilete*. And in acknowledgement and token of his Royal Power, the People brought him Presents, as the known Pledges of their Loyal subjection. This new *Sultan* manifested a great disdain of that Avaritious humour, which had possessed the minds of the *Barbarian* Princes, much inveighing against that sordid Devotion of Sacrificing the Wealth of their Subjects to themselves. He therefore by a subtil contrariety refused to shrine up more Money in his Coffers, then might decently defray Expences, leaving at the first that pleasing bait to be devoured by his Profelytes, whereby he purchased a great reinforcement of his Retinue. *Tessa*, which he elected for his first place of Arms, swarm'd (as was said) with poor Inhabitants, whose Labors were too little for their Sustenance, which might render them the readier to take the Impression of any Counsil that was likely to better

better their Condition. And *Muley Reshid* is conceived to have repaired to this beggerly Colony, to meet with an easier advance of Followers.

By rowling up and down, he had in short time gathered so great a Bulk, as threatned an Inundation wheresoever it should spread it self. Attended with this numerous Rabble, he addressed himself to his Elder Brother *Muley Hamet*, in a posture compounded of Hostility and Friendship, of whom he demanded the Estate left him by his Father, that he might be the better enabled to perform something worthy of *Their House*. The two Brothers began to wax hot in the Conference; and it is said, that the Language on both sides was so exasperating, that they had like to have forgot the distance of their Condition, and to have closed up their Discourse with an unmannerly Combate. Both were so far transported with Anger, that without the least overture of Reconciliation, they fell into declared Hostility, and left their private Quarrel to the publick determination of a War.

In which *Muley Reshid* was so fortunate

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nate as to slay his Brother, and thereby was left without any to justle him in the Government of *Dara*. This success did so swell *Reshid's* bosome, that less room could not circumscribe him than a Kingdom. The present Affairs of *Barbary* were auspicious to his Enterprises: the Countries being rent into petty Monarchies, every *Almocaden* that was able, having put himself into a defensive Posture, aiming to live independent in his Government. This division much facilitated *Muley Reshid's* Designs: yet nothing was more conducing to his success; then his careful execution of Justice, the want whereof had been a general pretended grievance; every detected Criminal had condign punishment according to demerit, whereby he became both beloved and feared.

Together with his care for publick Justice, he continued his seeming neglect of Riches; stil dividing among his *Partizans* the estates of those whom their own obstinacy made his spoils. But those, who gently yeilded to his mercy, he generously protected both in their Goods and Persons. This obliging carriage

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gave

gave wings to his *Fame*, and made him where ever he came to be received with acclamations; The common voice was *Illah Enzur Muley Reshid*, i.e. God bless Prince *Reshid* & the vulgar esteem'd him sent on purpose to chastize oppressors.

Having made himself master of his Brothers Territories, he advanced towards *Erif* govern'd by the *Alcayd Arras*, who was his Brothers confederate, and his Father-in-law, and who in confidence of this relation (if we may credit report) granted *Muley Reshid* a peaceable admission into his Dominions; wherein for some Moons he deputed himself as a Son. But being ascertained of the *Alcayds* intention to contract a Friendship with *Tanger*, and that he had dispatch'd an envoy to the same purpose he concluded that he now wanted no reason to declare himself an enemy to the *Alcayd's* proceedings, and under this pretext arm'd against him. The *Alcayd* seeing the *Xériff* attempting to dispossess him of his Territories; and that contrary to all *Ingenuity* and *Laws of Hospitality*, he began to usurp the Country of his Entertainer, he thought it high time

time to provide for his defence. Therefore with some *Extemporary Forces* he repaired to the *Maritim Boscemma* where he reinforced a small Fort; not out of any hopes to maintain it against the *Xeriff*, but thereby to have the advantage of surrendring it and himself upon gentler Articles. *Muley Reshid* advised of the *Alcayds* flight, addressed himself to the pursuit, and overtook him at the mentioned Fortress. Which in few daies the *Alcayd* delivered up to be demolished by the *Xeriff*, and himself his prisoner.

This Victory, or rather surprisal of the *Alcayd* was a fair accession to *Reshids* power, having now subjected the only Potentate, whom the rest of the neighbouring *Grandeess* had so often courted for a Confederate.

Having thus obtained the command of *Eris* and the rest of his *Fatherinlaws* Country, it raised in him no less aspiring hopes then to become *Sultan* of *Mauritania Tingitane*, at that time rent into parties. To the accomplishing of which design he saw the gaining of *Fez* would contribute much to his esteem,

and give him admission into the heart of the Kingdome. Upon this consideration he resolutely march'd to trye his fortunes with that ancient and famous Metropolis. This City was lately in the Government and Possession of *Cidi Mahumed*, second Son to *Ben Boucar*, who was despoiled thereof, together with his Life, by the cruelty of *Bensallah*, *Sohair*, and *Dorledi*, said all to be *Andaluzian* Moors, and who had the Government thereof divided among them, when *Reshid* came against it. The news of whose approach no sooner reach'd *Fez*, but the Governors, whom guilt had made cowardly, betook themselves to the strongest holds of the City, depositing the Keys into such Hands, as they thought fittest to be entrusted with the protection of the Gates. *Reshid* seeing that *Fez* was likely to cost him dear, if he stayed to take it by a formal Siege, thought of having recourse to Stratagem; knowing that he who aspires after nothing but Conquest, ought not to binde himself to the Laws of a fair Gamester.

Reshid had so long pressed the City by impeding their Markets, that he might
reason-

reasonably imagine there was a want of provision of Cattel; whereupon he resolved to lodge some of his Forces near the City Walls, and that himself, with about sixteen more, would drive some Cattel to the Gates of *Fez*, under the disguise of Friends come to bring them Provision. This he put in execution in the Night, and coming with the Cattel to the Gates, with a Voice counterfeiting haste and fear, they called to the Guards for entrance, and desired that they would take into their Protection them and the booty brought for their succour. Two were admitted to enter, whereof the *Xeriff* is said to have been one, who instantly slew the Centinel, and thereby made way for the rest; who having seized the Keys, straight ascended a small Turret over the Gate, and thence gave the Signal to his Forces, lodged near for the purpose to advance: And the small Gun that was placed in the Gate, he caused to be turned upon the City. The Citizens being miserably confused and affrighted at the suddenness of the action, were not recovered of their Distractions till *Reshid* poured in his Army

amongst them; against whom being unable to make any considerable opposition, their last and only succour was a timely submission, which they performed with such humility, that *Reshid* had no temptation to reject it. After they were received into protection, the *Fezians* were not penurious in complaints against their Governors, imputing it to their wilfull Pride, that the *Xerif* was not received with such evidences of Honor, as they had always born to that Title. But not staying at such useless Complements, *Reshid* in the first place took into his possession the ancient Treasures of the Kings of *Fez*. Next, he caused the three Governors to be brought before him, and having told them of their great Oppressions of the People, he commanded one of them to be burnt immediately, another to be dragg'd about the Streets till he was dead; but the third he committed to custody, and afterward is said to have kill'd him with his own hand: And then declared, *That this was the just recompence of all those who deal unjustly with the People.*

And having thus subjected the famous
Fez,

Fez, his next Trophies he design'd upon *Ben-Boucar*, whom without much resistance he took Prisoner, and brought to *Fez*, and there granted him a liberal Confinement, in token of that respect which he bore his Piety and Age. After this, he went against the *Xerif* of *Ben-zaruel*, who proved a very resolute Enemy, for with the strength of his own *Cavila* he found a Months work for all *Reshids* Army, but at length was forced to render himself Prisoner, and still remains in that Condition.

Reshid had now so far advanced his Dominion in the Kingdom of *Fez*, that he had none therein to oppose him but *El Hader Ben Ali Gaylan*; who for his military Skill, personal Valour, and many Years of Success and Settlement in his Government, rendred *Taflete* dubious in his Councils how to proceed against him. *Tafraught*, a prodigious ridge of Mountains, so secured *Gaylans* Frontiers, that no part was left passable, but what might easily be guarded. And therefore to enter *Gaylan's* Dominions by open violence, *Taflete* foresaw would cost him the expense of more time than his

Affairs could spare : upon which reflection, he fell to his successful Art of making a false Party in his Enemies Camp, that he might obtain by *intestine Treachery*, what in this case he could not by his own *Force*. To this end he secretly enter'd into correspondence with *Cidi Lasin El Phut*, Governor of *Benittaròs*, (*Gaylans* chief Frontier *Cavilla*) who was entrusted with the Avenue that let into *Gaylans* Ccountry. *Lasin* was not much indisposed to a Revolt from *Gaylan*, being one of those whom he had highly displeased in not calling them to the adjousting of the last Peace with *Tanger*, nor to partake of its Benefits (which was very fatal to that juncture of *Gaylan's* Affairs) and because he saw the growing power of *Tafilete*, and that albeit for a while they might resist him, yet in time he would eat through their *Alps*. Upon these Temptations, or what other, we may imagine operative upon the *warry, covetous, aspiring and revengeful* nature of a *Moor*, *Lasin* contracted with *Tafilete*, *Reshid*, or the *Xeriff* (which in this Narrative do all express the same Person) to advise him, when he should attach

attach the Passage, who to that end had always a select Band in readiness. And when by his own Example *Lafin* had taught the Guards to be remiss, and had got the advantage of *Gaylans* absence, he gave *Tafilete* the Signal, who gain'd the Passage, and with such suddenness set upon the Reserves, that they were not able to make any considerable resistance.

The news of this Disaster soon reacht *Alcazar*, where *Gaylan* was entertaining himself with his Relation *Cogez*, who with some of his best Troops march'd to the succour of his other Forces, which otherwise had been totally destroyed. *Gaylan* in this Encounter gave great testimonies of his Valour, and had, no doubt, given the Enemy a brave repulse, if his Infantry had not been wholly discomfited ere he could come to their relief. At last, finding himself oppress'd with number, he was forced to order the Party that stuck to him to seek for their safety, and himself, with about six more, retreated to *Arzila*; from whence, as one not well recover'd of the fright, he acquainted that Excellent Person, Colonel *H. Norwood*, the Lieutenant Governor

58 *The Revolutions of*

vernior of *Tanger* (with whom he was then in League) with his Disgrace, in this following Letter, Translated out of *Spanish*.

The Supercription.

Al Ex^{mo} Señor Don Enrique Norwood.

Exc^t Sir,

ALL Places are over-spread with the Disasters and Events of our War. The ill success at this time befall me, hath been by the Design of my Enemy, a Xerif of Tafilete, who falling in with his Army, surpris'd my careless Out-guards, and broke and rooted the whole Body. Upon notice whereof, I got on Horse-back at Alcazar, but found my People running away in so great Disorder, that it exceeded my Power to rally them till I came at Arzila. Whence I am now necessitated to crave your Excellencies assistance, upon the account of that Peace and Friendship so solemnly contracted betwixt us. I therefore desire, That you would send me a Boat of good bigness, that

Fez and Morocco. 59

if I should be put to any strait, I might send to you for succour, which I doubt not but your Excellency will please to send me upon Honorable Terms.

Also I desire your Excellency, that in case any of my Guards, of what Quality soever, do retire to your City with Cattle, or otherwise, that you would vouchsafe to favour them with your Protection, and supply their Necessities.

I crave your Excellencies Commands, which I am ready to perform with great willingness.

The Bearers, your Mariners, promise to return, by whom I intreat you to send a larger Embarcation.

May God keep your Excellency!

Arzila, June 29.

S. V. 1666.

As soon as the Lieutenant Governor had perused the Letter, he resolved to gratifie Gaylan's desires, as being glad of an opportunity to vindicate the honour of the English Nation from some imputations, which Gaylan objected to the Lieutenant Governor (when he was with him

him at *Arzila*) and which was chiefly occasioned through some mistake between the Great *Tiveot* and *Gaylan*, concerning the time when the War should commence in the Year 1663. For albeit the Earl of *Tiveot* had sufficiently cleared the Honor and Justice of that Action, yet *Gaylan* seeming not so to apprehend it, the Lieutenant Governor was glad of an occasion to let him know, That it was the mind of his Master, the King of *Great Brittain*, that all his Ministers should be punctual in the observation of what they stipulated in his Name. To which end, in a generous and well-composed Letter, the Lieuteuant Governor condoled *Gaylan*'s misfortune, assuring him of his Friendship, and that he would exactly comply with every Article of the Peace concluded betwixt *Tanger* and his Excellency ; and that if any of his Vassals, Allies, or Domestiques, should in any Exigence make *Tanger* their Sanctuary, they should find it no otherwise, and that they should be treated according to their Quality and Condition. This Letter was sent by a Kinsman of the Lieutenant Governors, who according to directions,

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confirm'd *Gaylan* in the belief of meeting with all the succors that he could reasonably expect from the lately contracted Friendship.

This Message, whose kindness was doubled by its seasonableness and speed, put new Spirits into *Gaylan's* drooping Concerns, and gave him Courage to sound the temper of his revolted *Cavalas*, which he found well disposed to his Service, albeit they were forced to dissemble their Intentions till their Harvest was secured, lest otherwise they should second the War with a Dearth: for so little is the Provision of the *Moors*, that the loss or miscarriage of one Crop, brings a Famine.

But while *Gaylan* was laboring to retard, *Taflete* was improving his last Victory: and having possess'd himself of the Passage into his Enemies Territories, he quickly became Master of *Alcazar*, the chiefest of *Gaylan's* Inland Towns, which was deserted by *Cidi Hamet Cogez*, who for many Years had govern'd there by the Title of *Alcayde*. The tydings of the *Xerifs* Successes no sooner reach'd *Tituan*, but that Town de-

declared for him, and with their best Solemnity Proclaimed him King. At the same time the *Sbat* of *Angera*, a principal Person in those parts, nearly related to *Gaylan* by Blood and Marriage, retired to the Woods in the Bay of that *Alcazar*, which stands upon the Midland Sea; where he resolved to conceal himself, whil'st he sent his Domestiques to *Ceuta*, a *Spanish* Garrison, and *Tanger*, to procure *Segurds* for himself and Family, in case the *Xerif* should prove implacable, and refuse to receive him unto fair Quarters.

But the *Sbat* of *Angera* tired with his retreat, and cherishing some dull hopes of *Gaylan's* Recovery, sent in a Billet to the Lieutenant Governor of *Tanger* in *Moresco*, in which he seemed to insinuate, that he intended no submission to the *Xerif*, which was Translated thus.

The Letter of Almócadem Casum Shat, and his Sons Almócadem, Abdelcrim, and Almócadem Ali, to the Captain of Tanger, whom we honor much. Desiring that he would do them the favour to send them four hintals of Powder, four hundred Balls,

Balls, and a Kintal of Lead, with fifty or more Muskets: and that if the Captain have any need of Wood or Barley, they will repay him in that Commodity. This they solicit as Gaylan's faithful Friends.

I have inserted this Letter for the sake of its stile, being the first and only Address made in this manner to any of the English Governors in *Tanger*. But how hopeful soever the *Shats* Affairs might appear at the date of this Letter, yet very shortly after they seem'd to be in a very languishing state, as was easily to be collected by a large account thereof given to *Cidi Hamet Algillo*, who was then in *Tanger*, and which is here translated out of *Arabique* thus.

The Letter of Talisso Hamet El Shat, which is bid to salute Hamet Algillo, and to give him an account of the Troubles that have happened here; how that the same Night that Talisso Hamet El Shat left Angera, he came into the Fields of Tanger, where he killed two Men, and took away their Goods; and returning to the Aldéa (or Village) he found not one Person

son at his House, neither Man nor Woman, except Ali El Hag in the House of our Uncle Abdelcrim: all our Kinred were fled to Ceuta. But coming to speak with the People of Angera, they desired us for the love of God to leave them, whereupon they also fled to Ceuta: He that did this was Ben-Halóo. I thereupon writ a Letter to the King, to desire to have pity upon us. I writ also to Almocadem Hamet Ben-Léefi, and now write again for the Kings Answer, and according to it I shall advise both them and thee. Have thou patience, and within two or three days the Answer will be come. Moreover, I let thee know, that we are guarding our Houses from fire and mischief, having every Night twenty upon the Guard. I endeavour to keep up my Peoples courage. Know moreover, that the King hath given to Abdelháder Alfif-toah, the Government of Angera, but the People will not receive him, but have writ to the King about it, though as yet they have no answer. Lastly, I give thee to understand, That the King hath burned the Village of Benigerfut, and taken away their Goods.

So

So various was *Gaylan's* Fortunes, that while at one place he seem'd desperate, in another he was victorious; and notwithstanding that at *Angera Taffilete* was a Conquerour, as his letter intimates; at *Arzila* he was subdued; for from thence *Gaylan* assured his Confederates that all his *Castles* were return'd to their Obedience, that they had massacred those *Taffilete* had left to keep them in awe, and shut him in between two rocky mountains; and that himself was hastening thither to see his enemy and act his Catastrophe, and to put a period to the war. At the same time he gave out that *Tituan* was penitent for their Revolt, and weary of the *Xerifs* exactions, and were ready to joyn with him to effect the utter overthrow of that Imperious Invader.

Yet what face soever *Gaylan* put upon his condition, it was certain that *Taffilete* daily advanced his conquest, and at the same time when his enemy thus confidently reported his distress; he was in a flourishing condition, for the *Xerif* had then routed all *Gaylan's* fresh recruits, and in detestation

of him had taken up the bones of his Father and burn'd them, saying, *That he deserved no better, who was the root of that bramble, which had so long tyrannically rent and torn the poor.*

He had also taken Prisoners some of *Gaylan's* nearest relations, and sent them to *Fez*, and committed great spoiles upon their goods, whom he found absent from their habitations, and had brought a considerable wing within a league of *Arzila*, where if he had stay'd to streighten it, want of bread within a few moons would have constrain'd them to surrender.

The Town of *Tituan* was at this time likewise so far from resuming *Gaylan's* Interest, that all things there seem'd settled under the Authority and obedience of *Taffilete*. The notice of which truth was the subject of a letter sent to Colonel *Norwood* (Lieutenant Governor of *Tanger*) whose Honorable proceedings had render'd him so esteemed among the Moors, that *Taffilete* thought him a fit Person to be complemented; and to that end order'd his *Alcáyd* of *Tituan* to make his address.

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The *Alcaydes* letter from *Tituán*
to Colonel *Norwood* trans-
lated out of *Spanish*.

Excellent Sir,

His Majestie the K. Muley Xerif my
master (whom God preserve many
years) hath sent me to this City with ex-
press order to take Care of all Vessels of
Trade and Commerce, which shall come to
this place, & that they receive all security
& Royal dealing here, as is used in all pla-
ces under the Rule and Government of the
King my Master. To this purpose he hath
granted me his Royal order to give *Segu-
ros* in his Royal Name. Therefore all who
have any occasion to trafique here, may come
in safety, & be assured of good usage, both
in Goods and Persons, above all that
hath bin here formerly. This his Maje-
stie hath commanded me to advise your
Honour, that you might not be ignorant
of the King's pleasure and kindness. And
if you send any to trade hither, they shall
finde no imposts, but such as are every
where usual. And if your Honour please,

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68 *The Revolutions of*

we may with our mutual Seguros (or letters of safe conduct) send men or Goods, as occasion shall require. To this I desire your speedy answer.

The *Alcáyd* from whom this came, was a French man, *Cidi Hadracháman Ben-Réshed*, one who had succeeded his Father in the Consulship of *Tituán*, who hoping to raise himself with the *Xerif*, renounced his Christian Religion and liberty for the *Mahumedan Imposition* and servitude; and changed the gentle Name of *Antonie Cheysan*, for this stubborn one *Hadracháman*, and to encourage his Conversion, the King made him *Alcáyd de la Mar*, or Receiver of his *Customes* in the Port of *Tituán*, and also adopted him for his Son, by the name of *Ben-Réshed*.

The Lieutenant Governour delay'd not to answer the *Alcáydes* letter, as importing Trade, the chief thing which most concern'd the welfare of *Tanger*, to whose advancement the Lieutenant Governour alwayes declared a singular propensity. About the same time *Hamét Ben-Isa Nacsis*, & *Hamét Ben-Abdelkrim*, Governours of *Tituán*, with other *Grandeos* of the Country
and

and chief Ministers of the King sought unto him in matters of Moment. Betwixt whom and *Gaylan* he guided himself so steddily, that the continuance of his Friendship could not be suspected by the one, nor want of disposition to contract a new one by the other. *Tafflete* could not so much esteem him his enemy as *Gaylan's* Friend; and his fidelity to a distressed Confederate removed all suspicion of being otherwise to a prosperous. And by this wise management he clear'd up those scruples, which through some misapprehensions of former proceedings (of the Earle of *Tiveot* above mentioned) had render'd the *Moors* jealous of the *English* fidelity. But a litle to return to *Gaylan*, who had by this so long contemned the condition of his affaires in a doubtful Style, that at length an ambiguous intimation of his Enemies disgrace was taken for a clear assertion of his own. And however he labour'd to beget or preserve his freinds hopes of his Restauration, yet it could not take with those who saw *Tafflete* master of the whole Country, and all places of importance replenish'd with his

Creatures; and *Gaylan* shut up in *Arzila*, from whence he could create no more disturbances than amounted to a few *plundering Sallies*, which served only to exasperate the adjoining *Cavilas*, and totally to aliene and estrange them from his Relief. And yet was this a mischief which surpassed the *Xerifs* skill and Power to Remedie; for *Gaylan* might still have kept *Arzila* from him, as he had done from *Ben-Bowcar*; if his accomplices had bin now as Trusty as they were then; But he found the Scene so far changed, that he had reason to suspect those in whom he once *confided*. He saw that the people of *Arzila* were weary of their confinement, and the more, because they could not foresee any hope to be enlarged. And that they could not but conclude, *That* their sturdy resistance of *Tafilete*, contrary to the example of all their Neighbours, would, if protracted, render him implacable. All this *Gaylan* was able to read in their *carriage*, wherein there appeared so great an alteration, that he clearly perceived some mischief intended against him, and fearing that they might appease

Tafilete

Taflete with the Sacrifice of *Gaylan*: he resolved upon a suddain removal, & having before dealt with the Pyrats of *Alger* for his *Protection*, when nither press'd by the Enemy, nor want of Provision, he unexpectedly shipt himself, goods and the dearest Friends, upon two of the *Algerine Corsaires*, that were crusing before *Arzila*; and presently sail'd to *Algèr*, where I leave him to be plagu'd by that *Medly of the worst of men*, for his ingratitude toward the Honorable *Colonel Norwood*, which would brand him to man-kind, if that *Judicious* and *Vigilant Governour* would give an Account of his *last deportment*, and oblige the world with his *Exact History of Tanger*, since it came into the possession of our dread Sovereigne *Charles* the second whom God Preserve.

For and M. Wood.

To the Hon. the Lord of the Treasury

Sheweth that the said M. Wood

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Of West Barbary.

WE finde a Common-wealth compared to a ship, and the Western part of Barbary hath fulfilled the Allegory, not only in respect of the intestine Broyles, wherewith it has bin so long toss'd; nor yet in regard that the government thereof hath bin continually floating from one faction to another. But in this especially, that there remains no track, or impression, no Registers to acquaint us with what hath pass'd, except ruines and devastations, the Genuine memories of a Desolating war. For to demand of a Talib (one of the most learned sort among the Moors) the Annals of remote vicissitudes, or an account of the Traverses that bear a fresher date, were to baffle his observation, and thereby affront his adored literature.

Now the likeliest reason, that can be render'd of this ignorance, is the neglect of preserving Records of their Transactions, for
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the Moores trust all to an Illiterate Tradition; insomuch that the best Chronique can be now compiled of their late changes, must for the most part be collected from some aged Grandfires memory; a frail foundation to support an Historical credit.

As for the Ancient Model of the Moreisco Politie, it is so miserably convuls'd & shaken through manifold alterations caused by prevailing Interests, that not many of its first Maxims, nor much of its old Constitution, are visible in the present state; And this superseded my Curiosity in making researches into the Moors Politiques, further than to be inform'd of the Methods us'd to ascend to government by the aspiring factions of the last Age, of which I have given an Account in the foregoing Narrative. And therefore without the solemnity of any larger introduction; I shall give a faithful Narration of the present customs of Barbary in the succeeding Chapters.

CHAP.

CAHP. I.

*The soile, productions, Commodities,
and Husbandry of the Coun-
treys.*

L*eo Afer* delivers two Erymologies, which are so agreeable both to the nature of the *Language*, and Glebe of the Country, that they may seem to have bin imposed by *Adam*, the Primitive Nomenclator. For if we listen to the Moors language, *Barbary* seems to be descended from *Barbar*, which signifies an inarticulate murmur and grumbling noise without accent or harmony, for their speech is harsh, being very guttural: which is esteemed an argument of its Antiquity. And indeed it hath gain'd the vogue of no less antient a pedigree, than to be bred of the old *Punic* and *Arabian*.

Another reason why this Country bears the name of *Barbary*, may be taken from the frame and disposition of the Earth, which being full of wild and unkindly
• Tumours,

Tumours, well challengeth the name of *Bar* (a Word not known to the present Inhabitants) signifying a Desert, and the duplicate of the Monosyllable *Bar-Bar* implyeth that of old, *Barbary* was nothing but a great Solitude. And for this derivation, *Leo Afer* tells this Story : King *Iphycus* being driven out of *Æthiopia*, fled into *Ægypt*, where finding himself much pressed by his Enemies, and dubious what course to run for his safety, he asked his Adherents what they thought was the most probable way to secure themselves; whereupon they all, with an unexpected consent answered *Barbar*, meaning thereby that the hopefullest method of Protection was to pass over *Nilus* into the Desarts of *Africa*. And finding this Etymologie to bear so fair a Proportion with the Complexion and Surface of the Land, I shall not scruple the occasion of its Imposition.

But when we look from the outward shape, to the Productions of the Countrey, we see the uncomeliness thereof recompensed in the Fertility, which forbids us to judge of Internal Dowries by the

the outward Model : Providence usually supplying the defects of the Body with the abilities of the Mind, it being the fate of many excellent Parts, like *Galba's*, to be ill lodged. The Ancients accounted Wood and Grain, the more natural and useful Issues of a Country, as having a more immediate tendency to supply Mankind with the greater Necessities of Lodging and Diet. But in this Canton of *Barbary*, the Woods are scarce and mean, and fitter to warm the House than build it. For ranging their Groves, I found them consist chiefly of Cork-Trees, which seem'd to differ but little from the Scarlet-Oak, excepting the indenture of their Leaves. Their Fruit is a smaller kind of Acorn, woody within. At the Root of these Trees is usually found the *Lentisca*, which is generally but a shrub, and of little other service to the *Moors* than to feed their Goats. The Juice whereof, mingled with other Ingredients, is used by the Potters to give a faint colour to their Earthen-ware, which they find to enhance the price, and advance the sale.

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The next remarkable sort of Wood is the *Alcaróbe*, a Tree of great Curiosity, and meriting a larger Note. The *Alcaróbe* bears a Cod; in quantity and likeness much resembling the English Bean; the inner substance thereof is sweet, and lodgeth hard small Kernels. This Fruit is eat by the *Moors* of inferior Condition, and by all at the Feast *Ashorah*; but it is chiefly preserved for their Horses, to whom it is both Physick and repast. For as a *Moor*, well skill'd in that Animal, told me, the Fruit of the *Alcaróbe* hath two excellent Properties, to Drench, and make their Horses Fat.

Some have called the Fruit *Locusta*, and supposed that it was the *Baptist's* Food in the Wilderness: But others conjecture that *St. Matthew's Axeides*, were only the tops and extremities of Herbs and Plants. And there are also some judicious Criticks, who interpret the *Baptist's* Locusts to be a kind of Fly or Grasshopper, wch in warmer Climates are very large and many, and were formerly dryed and eaten by the Inhabitants: But they were observed to yield but small Nutriment, and ever thought fitter
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for Medicine than Alimony. I was told (but by a Travailer) that in *Ægypt* these flyes come in such clouds, that they darken the sky where they appear, and that in a short space they consume the fruits of the Earth where they are permitted to fall. To prevent which mischief (he told me that) the people observing the season of their coming, prepare against them, and keeping them from settling by discharging Guns into the aire where they are discover'd. That these locusts and Grashoppers were eaten by the Barbarous Nations, may be concluded from the Law that made them forbidden meat to the Jews, *Levit. 11.*

But to leave the Moor to this sort of flyes, whereof he hath no scarcity, there is a greater probability that the fruit of the *Alcaròbe* is the same with the Prodigal's *Ceratia*, or husks ; for it doth excellently accord with their description set down by that great intelligence of Divinity in his Note. *B. S. Luke. xi.*

In some parts of this Countrey there is great plenty of white Mulberry trees, nourished on purpose to feed the silk-
worm,

worm, a creature that doth afford the curious many delightful speculations; but the Moor regards it only for its emolument. The season of the worm being passed, they feed their Cattel with the residue of the Mulberry leaves.

The Towns of Commerce, and Conversation, have pleasant Orchards of Orange, Lemons and Limes, with Gardens yielding plenty and variety of salad. And that which maketh their Gardens both profitable and delightful is, that they are always fruitful and retain a refreshing verdure. And this they effect by keeping the soyle constantly in a temperate moisture: for the water courses are so providently contriv'd that every Garden receiv's it in due proportion, and at a certain hour; which running among the little trenches, affords a very equal and fertile irrigation.

Besides the Sallad ordinary in other Countreys, they have one sort rarely to be met with in Europe, which they call by a word, sounding Spanish *Tomátos*. This growes in the common fields, and when ripe is pluckt and eaten with oyle.

it is pleasant but apt to cloy. *Barengénas*, as in *Spain*, grow creeping like Cucumbers upon the Ground; These are boyled with Beef and Mutton, and of no vulgar estimation among the Moors.

Some *Cavilas* (a division in the Countrey that much resembles that of Counties in *England*) have large and fruitful Vineyards, and the bloud of the Grape, though it be utterly prohibited them by *Mahumed* their Prophet, yet of late through the licentiousness of the times, it is liberally quaff'd by many of the Moors. But that they might not herein give offence to the weaker *Musul-men*, nor betray any contempt of the law, they are generally cautious in this liberty, and use it, as we say, *Under the Rose*.

The Plants of this Countrey are very observable for their variety and strangeness, for many are to be found in *Barbary*, which cannot be met with in colder Climes. And some, which are usual in other Countreys, are in this found to differ much from their descriptions in Common Herbals. This I learned from a worthy Friend (well read in this part of Nature,) who had enterprised, and

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would doubtless have finish'd, a Collection of *Barbary* Simples, if his too early immortality, and immature death had not depriv'd the world of that profitable endeavour.

The Grain in this, differs not from that in other Countreys, excepting that here are two sorts of Grain, scarce well known in other parts of the world, The one they call *Pharouk*, which is of a lesser size, hungry and coarse, much resembling, if not altogether the same, with the Spanish *Panizo*, and it is only the more beggarly Moors that use this for bread. The other is known among them by the name of *Tourkia*, which is a larger body than the former, and yields good flower, whereof bread is made for the Nobles of the Land. And as the Barley and Beans are reapt in April, the wheat in May and June, so is September the usual season for gathering the other kinds of bread-corn.

The rains are to the Moors, what the Nile scope is said to be to the *Ægyptians*, for according to their plenty or scarceness, they are able to foretell the dearth and plenty of the year. But there is a
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sort of Religionists among them, who measure the products of the earth by the sins of its Inhabitants, and who divine of the successe of their tillage from the Observation of their *Ramadan* (or Lent) and the due celebrating of their [Easter] *Hid Seguer* ; or the little feast that concludes it.

If the clouds are sparing in showers at *Seed-time* , and *Earing*, the crop is little lean ; and in their best *Harvests* , they seldom reap more than will bring about the year, so that the failure of one Crop brings an inevitable dearth upon the land. The Moors are very observing of the *Trade-rains*, (for so they may not improperly be termed, as never falling but at such a time.) The former Rain is call'd by a word importing Blessing, and the latter [*Nafun*] or *Holy-water*, of which names I could meet with no other Rationale but Tradition.

There appeares but little industry in the Moors husbandry, for their tillage is so mean, that he that sees it may justly wonder, that the Land under such small improvement should be so fruitful. In most parts they plough but with

two Oxen, carelessly tyed by the horns, and in some *Cavilas* with a like number of Asses, Mules, Camels, and a baser breed of Horses. The plough turns up no more mold, than sufficeth to bury the seed: for (say they) if the furrows should be deep, and the drought begin, ere that the corn hath broken the Earth, it would not be able to force a passage through the stifned clods. They use no labour to assist the *Arbale* by manuring it, except that the Ordure of their Towns is cast out, not so much to enrich the Glebe, as to keep themselves cleanly. But this painful part of husbandry is supplied by the Anniversary burning of the withered grass and stubble, which serves to help the soyle, and destroy the Vermin, which otherwise, especially the Scorpion, would render the Countrey very dangerous for habitation.

When the Moors have reapt their corn, they tread it out with Oxen, Camels, &c, & winnow it upon the place where it grows, and then set the chaff on fire; In which particulars they are an excellent Comment upon the like, reflected upon

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in *Sacred Writ.* Instead of Granaries, they have Caves brick'd or wrought with stone, call'd *Matamóras*, in which they reposit their Corn, where it is preserv'd from the Worm, and other Enemies. The Straw they chop and keep for their Horses, for although there be abundance of Herbage, yet no part thereof is cured and preserved for a Winter store of Hay, which I impute to the *Moors* sloth, rather than the needlessness of such a Provision.

After I had taken this Survey of what appeared upon the Earth by Nature, or its Improver, Husbandry, I found sufficient Instigations, both by Curiosity and Reason, to dive into its Entrals, which I have been told are in many places as rich as the best Oars can make them. And of this Truth there have appeared large Specimens, about *Tituan*, *Alcazar*, *Ghebér*, &c. And the reason why the *Moors* pursue not so advantageous a Temptation, may be charg'd upon their Ignorance, Idleness, or Fear; as in another place I may have occasion to demonstrate. The Commodities of this Countrey bearing the name of *Mercán-*

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til, are chiefly Honey, Wax, Hides, Marokins or Córdavans, Dates, Almonds, course Twine, Mats of a curious Straw and Workmanship, Mantles, Alheicks, and in some places great store of Salt-Peter. As for the Fabulous abundance of Gold reported to be found in *Barbary*, I leave its Legend to the Poets.

CHAP. II.

Of the Beasts in Barbary, tame and wild.

THe Survey now passeth one Stair higher, from Vegetable to Sensible Creatures, whereof *Barbary* has no less plenty, than of Grass to maintain them, but looking into their Flocks and Herds, I found the latter more numerous, yet not to that quantity as report inform'd me. And enquiring why the *Moors* were more for the Stall, than the Fold; they replyed, That Cows yielded them more constant relief than Sheep, and were more ready to furnish out both their Tables

bles and Purfes. Their Horses are both few and mean, and for the most part much inferiour to those of other Nations, which at first created my wonder, because of the great repute the *Barbary* Horses had obtain'd in most *European* Countries. But they have a peculiar Cast of Barbs able to maintain this Renown, which the *Moors* carefully preserve, never imploying them in low and base Offices, but keep them only for the Saddle and Military Service. And to the great ease of their Horses, the *Moors* have store of Camels for their forest Drudgeries. Now the Camel is a Creature of strange Bulk and humour, whose Diet is mean and incredibly little, for they will Travel great Journeys under heavy Loads, without further allowance than the tops of Thistles, or any mean Herbage. Nor are they less abstemious in their Bevarage, than Meat; being so patient of Thirst, that they will Travel four days without touching Water, and then at one Drinking take in as much as will serve them as many Days more. The *Moor* from Observation hath this general Rule concerning Camels; viz. *That those*

those which when young drink much and often, are of a degenerate Linage, and will never prove serviceable.

There is a Presumption, that the Camels engender backward, but *Ali Mulud*, an Ancient and Inquisitive Moor, would often swear by the Hairs of his Chin (an Oath that he had learn'd in the time of his being a Slave in *Spain*) that he had much enquired after the manner of the Camels Copulation, but could meet with no certain Information therein; for (said he) these Creatures are strangely bashful in their Embraces, which makes them very secret in the time of their Amours; and to retire, if possible, even from their Keepers Eye. At the season of their Coition, both Sexes are very furious, and like their *Moresco* Masters, they never forget to revenge the Injuries done them at that time. I was told by an *Alarb*, who had no Temptation to abuse my Credulity in such an unconcerning Story, that the *Mácho*, or Male Camel, generated with the Female when she is asleep, and that the Female brings forth in a kind of negligent slumber. But I leave the curious Inquisitors
of

of Nature to discover the frailties of this Story, and pass on to remark the docile gentleness of the Camel, which is evident in their submission, kneeling to be loaden and unloaden at their Drivers pleasure. And we find it reported in the History of Beasts, *Jonson. Hist. Quadrup.* That Camels have been taught to dance exact Measures, which is no more strange, than the *Ballétto di Cavalli*, that not long since graced the Nuptials of a Duke of Florence.

But intending no *Zoography*, I pass from this and other Tame Quadrupeds, to observe that *Barbary* hath all sorts of Beasts that are called Wild: Lions, Leopards, Wolves, Foxes, &c with great plenty of Jackals, so much famed for Catoring for the Lyon: They usually hunt in Packs, opening with a shril yelping noise, and are described to be Mungrel Creatures, of an equivocal Generation, deriving rapaciousness from the Wolf their Sire, and cunning from the Fox their Dam; they are very ravenous, eating Carrion, digging up dead Bodies, and will feed upon that which a genuine Fox will not daign to tast.

Wild

100 *Of VWest Barbary.*

Wild Boars are no rarity in this *Dio-*
cess, which the *Moors* hunt and kill in a
Manly Pastime, they being no way sub-
servient to the Trencher, because all
sorts of Swines Flesh is forbidden Meat
by their Law. But their Slaves, that are
Christians, have permission to dress and
eat them, and know from Experience
that they are very wholesom and strong
Food.

But I shall surcease to Travel further
among these inhospitable Salvages, with
whose descriptions Natural Histories are
so largely replenished, and therefore I
will shut up this Chapter with this gene-
ral Remark, *That Barbary bath variety*
of all sorts of Beasts, Birds and Serpents;
the Land affording Habitations most suit-
able to such unsociable Beings.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

*The Division of the Inhabitants,
different manner of living, their
Genius, their entertainment of
Foreign Ministers.*

THE Family of *Noah* (saith the Jewish Antiquary *Flav. Joseph.*) being jealous of a second Deluge, durst not descend to Cultivate the Plains, but dwelt upon the tallest Mountains: till at length, *Sem* ventured to Inhabit the Valleys; where they lived in a Cluster, and seemed suspicious of the Divine Command, bidding them *disperse and over-spread the Earth*: fearing that this might be a Design to scatter them that they might the more easily be destroyed, for which reason they long time kept together in a close Neighborhood. Out of which story nothing is needful here to be collected, but that Mountains have ever proved the Refuges of the Distressed, and the People that Inhabited them valued

valued for their Antiquity above the rest of the Land. Of which truth, *Barbary* yields a pregnant instance in the division of her Inhabitants, of which there are two sorts known among them, by the usual Names of *Alárbes* and *Barabárs*.

The *Alárbes* are usually by the *Europeans* stil'd Mountaineers, from the place of their greatest residence. And these think themselves the Elder Natives, and therefore of the better House. They are not altogether so Civiliz'd as the other, but live more rudely and rovingly, shifting from Mountain to Mountain according to their Exigences, never confining their rambling humors to any settled Mansion. They live in Haimas or Tents, made of a course brownish Cloth, which the Women work and weave of the Bark of Palmito's mingled with Goats hair; and these Itinerary Habitations they remove from one place to another, in obedience to their fickle Humors and cogent Necessities. Robbery is their Master-piece and best Livelyhood; and in this Estate they much glory, as coming so near the condition of *Muley Mahuméd's* first Votaries. About an Age past they

they were very numerous, but the late Civil Wars have made great abatements of their Musters.

The other sort of *Moors* are vulgarly called *Barabars*, but by a Dialect *Brébers*: These have fixed Dwellings, and live in Neighborhood; and finding Conversation to be useful and safe, affording Comfort and Profit, they are combin'd into *Aldéa's*, or Villages, where their Cottages are so disposed, that there is not any considerable disproportion among them in respect of their distance from the *Giemma*, or Church.

Over these *Barabars* are Subordinate Governors or *Almocadens*, to whom they pay a dutiful Observance. Their Vocation is Tillage and Grazing; and live much after the condition of the *Labradóres* in *Spain*, the *Paisants* in *France*, and the *Boors* in *Flanders*. The *Barabars* of late are grown more numerous than the *Alárbes*, and for several Years have inhabited both the Mountains and Campaigns. But albeit they have taken the Hills from the *Alárbes*, yet they have left them the reproach of Robbery, though they themselves are no Novices in that Mystery. But

But notwithstanding their different Mode of living, they unite in the general Character of Body and Humour: For they are all of a large Stature, strong Constitution, stately Carriage, and differing in Complexion according to their conversing with the Sun and Air. Those whom for distinction I must call the Gentry, are according to their Rules of Chivalry well skill'd in managing of the Horse, and dextrous at the Lance, for they scorn all toyl that is not Military, and account no Employment so noble as that of a Souldier. They agree likewise in Humour, for both are Jealous and Revengeful. Their Jealousie is palpable in their Carriage towards their Wives, whom they keep in great Subjection and Retirement, which makes Adultery a Stranger to their Beds: Nor can it reasonably be otherwise, seeing that the Wife is fully assur'd that the very attempt to pilfer a Pleasure, if discover'd, will cost her her Life. They are likewise implacable in their hatred, and impatient till they have avenged an Injury; for they are taught by their Prophet, *That Revenge is a Virtue*. But
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leaving these Passions to the justification of the *Moresco* Law and Customs, the *Moors* are guilty of a censorious Suspicion towards Strangers, which hath no colour to be excused. This I first observed in their carriage toward *Don Diego de Palma*, a Cavalier of the Habit of *St. James*, who being sent to Complement *Gaylan* from his *Catholick Majesty*, and chancing to smile at the *Moors* Deportment, as not answering the starch'dness of his own Nation; the *Moors*, who were very circumspect in observing every tittle of the *Don's* Deportment, were so sagacious as to find in this casual Smile a derision of their Courtship, which they left not unrevenge'd in intrigueing his Errand. Now it is observable, that the *Moors* are very morose and abstemious in point of Laughter, esteeming those who are much thereunto addicted, to be scornful and foolish.

And now having promised to give an account of the *Moresco* manner of receiving Publick Ministers, and finding that they have no solemn & fixed Rites; I conceive the description of their entertaining the *Spanish* Envoy, may serve for

for a Specimen of their Carriage toward all Persons of the like Character : which take as follows.

The Envoy *Don Diego Felipe de Palma*, having from *Ceuta* (a *Spanish* Garrison on the *Barbary*-coast) advised *Cidi el Hader Ben Ali Gaylan*, that he was come from the Crown of *Spain* on a Message to his Excellency (that was *Gaylans* Title) and desired to know when and where he should have permission and security to deliver it: *Gaylan* returned him answer, concerning the set Day and Place for the *Don's* Reception, which was according to our stile, the tenth of *September*, in the One thousand six hundred sixty third Year of Grace, and at a place equally distant from *Ceuta* and *Tituan*: where, to grace the *Entrata*, *Gaylan* appointed a Parade of the best Horse of his own *Cavila*, and committed them to the Conduct of his Brother *Cidi Tobib Ebn Ali*, who march'd with them from *Arzila* to *Tituan*, whither according to appointment, *Gaylans* Father-in-law, *Almocadem* of the *Cavila* of *Angera*, had sent his Sons with about sixty of their Cousins, to joyn with *Tobib*, who with
Many

many more went to receive the Envoy at the prefixed time and place : Where the *Moor*s, having paid him their Greetings, they all March'd in this order.

In the first Troop came the two Sons of the *Almoadem* of *Angera*, with about sixty of their Kindred, all bravely mounted, and according to their Gallantry, richly accoutred: These in several Rings exercis'd the Lance with laudable Agility, the Musick of *Tituan* still playing before them.

In the next rank came *Cidi Tobit*, attended with about fifty Horse, maintaining a very slow march, as if they intended to revie or deride the Spanish Gravity. Next to them rode the Envoy, *Don Diego Felipe de Palma del Habito de Sanjago*, with a single Trumpet sounding before him : Next came led six stately Horses trapt in blew Cloth : after them fourteen Mules loaden with Trunks ; and in the last place rode the Governor of *Tituan*, with the *Alárbes* Musick tinkling before him, and attended with a large & well ordered Train. Vast multitudes were flockt thither, having no other business but to gaze, being Strangers to such a Procession.

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In this order was *Don Diego* conducted to his Lodgings in *Tituàn*, where he courteously received the Christians that came to give him the Parabien to *Barbary*, and declar'd a great readiness to serve my Camrade and my self, whom he knew had no other concern in those Parts, but securely to travel and view the Countrey. After two days refreshment at the *Moors* charge, the *Don* began his march toward *Arzila*, but first caused the Horses to be richly trapt, and led in State through the Streets of *Tituàn*; which being done, they came into a Plain a little out of the Town, where the People made a spacious Circle, in which the *Moresco* Cavalleres shewed their active Horsemanship, and dexterous darting of the Lance; after which, about fifty *Negros* and *Alárbes* began a Dance, which they performed with pleasant variety of Gesture, and strange Agility.

These Desports being finished, the Envoy advanceth his Journey, and found the ways crowded with Spectators, invited thither by *Gaylan's* Politick Friends, who designed that the People might take
notice

notice of the Honour done to *Cidi El Ha-*
der, and that his Friendship was sought
by one of the greatest of Christian Mo-
narchs. But there were many that came
not so much to be Spectators, as to reap
the fruit of a common Report, that the
Don would cast great store of Realito's
among the poorer *Moors*. But their hopes
were deceived in the rumour of the *Spa-*
niards Bounty, who did not herein de-
generate from the Nature of his Nation;
which has ever been noted for a back-
wardness to such insignificant Profusi-
ons. The Envoy being safely arrived at
Arzila, he was lodged in an Apartment
of *Gaylan's* Palace (pardon the Word)
where I leave him to lodge, and eat, if
possible, worse then he did at home.

The business and design of this Em-
bassy, met with diversity of Conjectures:
by some it was supposed that *Don Diego*
was sent to solicit larger Priviledges for
the *Spanish* Garrisons on the *Barbarian*
Coast. Others concluded that the Duke
of *Medina Celi*, envious at the Earl of
Tiveot's successes against the *Moors*, and
his Truce concluded with *Gaylan*, caused
this Messenger (a Creature of his own)

to be sent with Instructions, to interrupt and disturb the new Correspondence and Amity betwixt *Tanger* and *El Hader*. But to find out the Riddle, I ploughed with one of their own Heifers, having employed a *Moor* versed in publick Affairs, (and recommended to me by that great Lover of the English, *Cidi Abdel-erim Nacsis*, then chief Governor of *Ti-tuan*) who from the *Spaniard's* inquisitiveness after the state and condition of *Tanger*, the number of the Souldiers, the quantity of the constant Guards, the heighth and strength of the Walls, the situation and number of the Guns ready mounted, &c. with his Design in a *Moresco* habit to take a narrow view of the whole place (which in *Gaylan's* company within few days after he performed) filled us with Jealousies that some mischief was purposed against *Tanger*. And it is very certain, That the fore-mentioned Duke had an evil Eye upon the Immortal *Tiwot*, for the Renowned Victories which under the most Christian King he atchieved against his Nations Interest in the *Low Countries*, which aged Choler he found highly inflam'd by the Victories gain'd

gain'd by that *indefatigable Captain* over his *Moresco* Neighbors, which instigated the Dukes spleen not so much against *Tanger*, as its Restorer *Tiveot*, who being at this time in *England*, took the advantage of his absence to disgrace him (if any such thing had been possible) with his new Confederate *Gaylan*. And acquiescing in this account of the Embassy, I pursue my Province in setting down the exact account of the present Customs of the *Moors*.

C H A P. IV.

The Moresco Compellations, Reverence to Superiors, Complexion and Conversation of the Women, pious manner of salutation and Stile.

I Have not found any Nation so rude and Barbarous, as to be utterly devoid of all Rites of Civility and Respect :

for some tokens of honor & kindness, some terms of distance & familiarity are used by the most uncultivated. And the Moors though they are very sparing in Complements, yet they use both words & gestures of Respect. Towards all superiours they indifferently use the Compellative *Cidi*, which is as extensive as [Sir ;] To women of better quality they use *Lala*, signifying as largely as *Madam* doth now in *England*. And as to their outward demonstrations of Respect, there is little variation; for a grave inclination of the body, with a putting the right hand first to the heart, next to the forehead, and then kissing the two foremost fingers laid across the lips, is the exactest manner of saluting the *Grandeess*; whose hand, knee, or bottom of the Vest is kissed by the Vulgar. Those that are familiar, and of equal rank, at their first meeting strike hands, but shake not, & then lift them up & lay them to their breasts. And their greetings are in the second person singular, using [Thou] to all from the slave to the King: wherein they observe the Eastern Custom. But in their addresses to their Prince no people can testify

more

Of West Barbary. 113

more signal tokens of Humbleness & Piety, for at the entrance into the Royal presence, they bow their bodies to the ground, saying, *Sálam Allig Allá Enforúck Mulèy*, Peace be to thee, God preserve King *Fuláno*; & these words & gestures are devoutly repeated at every pace they advance toward the *King*. And if any come with petitions they kisse, the earth when they present them to his royal perusal. The like Reverences are discharged when they depart the *Presence*.

But I pass on to view the female Moors, who if preserv'd from the injuries of the Sun & weather, are generally well complexion'd full bodied, & of good symmetry. Those that live in great Towns, together with the wealthier sort in the Country, are enclin'd to paleness, which may be imputed to their sedentariness, or *want of motion*; for they seldom stir abroad, except it be to visit the Sepulchers of their deceased friends in devotion, to pray for their felicity, and in the night time to the Baths for health and cleanliness. As to their Friday-meetings I shall speak of it in another Chapter. They never step without the threshold but so

closely vail'd, that no part is visible but an eye. In the state of Matrimony their principal studie is to please their husbands, to whom they are taught by their *Alcoran* to bear a dutiful observancy, and to omit no art that may render them delightful to their conversation. Those husbands that are able, allow their wives *Negra's* or *black-women*, to doe all the servile offices in the Family; but yet there is no quality that sits idle; for the cheif of the *Moresco* Dames imploy their time in some thrifty huswifry. And this prevents that custom of *expensive gossipings*, with which in some *Nations* so many wives are debauched, and husbands *beggar'd*. And yet the married women want not their *friendly conversations*, for they visit one anothers houses in token of good *neighbourhood*, but without the company of their husbands; no male though he be never so much a relative, can be admitted into their society. And to prevent it, she that makes the visit first, sends to know whether the husband be at home if the answer be negative, then without further ceremony she goes straight to her Gossips apartment, where she is entertained

tain'd with a liberality that never injures her husband ; who if returning home in the interim of the visit, is careful to give no interruption, but upon notice quickly departs the house ; yet they give such signals that he has bin there, as are easily perceived by the *Visitant*, who thereupon shortens the Visit, otherwise it commonly lasts a whole day. But these being offices that are seldome in their returns, may justly be pardon'd in their length.

But foreseeing that I shall in another place have occasion to speak again of the *Moresco* women, I surcease to enlarge the paragraph that here concerns them, and therefore proceed to view the *pious forms* used by the Moors in their salutations and Letters.

And indeed there is none that has had any intimacy with the Moors in this particular, but he might observe a great appearance of Piety in all their customary expressions. And this I learn'd both from the discourse and practise of those with whom I journey'd, who at their setting out in the morning, would with Zeal and humility look up to heaven, and in a low voice say, *Bismillah*,
that

116 *Of West Barbary.*

that is, in the name of God; which is also done at the beginning of any labour or travail. By which they intend that nothing ought to be enterprised, but in the power and hope of the divine favour and help. And when the work or journey is finished they say, *Ham der illah*, Thanks be unto God; in which words they deny all ascriptions of success to themselves. When they meet one another upon the road, &c. their greetings at large is this thanksgiving, *El ham dilah al salam tiqsi*. i. e. God be praised that I see thee well: but in passing by one another the Salutation is usually this prayer, if there be no more but one, *Salam alleq*, if more than one, *Salam alleq cum*, Peace be with thee, or you. At the hearing of one another sneez, they say, *Era hanig allah*, *Dios tenga V. M. en sumano*. God be your keeper. When one Moor goes to see another at his house, the first that receives him saith, *Mar hába*, or welcom, which if repeated thrice, is an undoubted marke that they are glad to see him; which kind reception he requites with saying, *Allah ellah mig* i. e. God pay: you. And

Of West Barbary. 117

And the like air and genius of Devotion and Piety is observable in those letters that the Moors write in their own language; a tast whereof you have in these two ensuing, translated out of *Moresco*.

In the name of God Gracious &
Merciful, whose Blessing be
upon our Lord *Mahomed* & his Family.

To the Mighty, honourable, Glorious, and most Excellent Lord and Governour of *Tanger* the Earle *Tiveot*.

God perpetuate your Excellencies Honour and Glory, and vouchsafe your perseverance in Grandeur and Felicity. Happiness unto you with the odours of a glorious Name, shall continually breath out their fragancies, and let God continue and prosper both you and your estate agreeable

agreeable to your wishes.

Furthermore, to advise us of your abundant love, and especially generosity, there came to us the worthy Gentlemen your servants in their Ship, with the honourable Commanders of it, the Consul and the Captain, and they behaved themselves amongst us like Men, touching your Command which they observed, and accomplished our desires according as we expected in the going forth of our men, they returning home to us in health and safety, so that we now reenjoy their company according to the best of our wishes. And let God in our stead largely reward and recompence you, who have so highly obliged us herein.

Your Messengers staid with us for some days, till we had performed some of their desires, so that we sent along with them two excellent horses and of the best sort that hath been in our time, one whereof was for our own Riding, and the other is of the same breed; likewise forty good choise beasts, both Bulls and Cows, and a flock of about fourscore sheep, as a present to your Excellency, which out of your Grace and favour, you would vouchsafe to accept

sept from us. For the deserts and Merits of your Honour, God alone can recompence.

We gave also to your Legates two special horses and a few Cattle as the time permitted, and they likewise bought some horses as the time served, and then departed from us well contented. But we are alwaies with you in that inviolable love and friendship, which neither distance of place, nor length of time shall ever dissolve. And as for our Country Barbary (blessed be God) all of it that is loyal and in obedience to us, whether Mountaines, Plaines, or Cities, you have free passage into in love and friendship, to converse and trade as you please, and to manage all your affaires. And this will be of great advantage unto us, if it please God we live, and the General take the Castle of the Port Town, and the Rebels return wholly to their obedience, and then you shall not apologise for us, or excuse us in any service we can doe you. But we request you to excuse us at present, as to the rest of your desires, being assured that we cease not to encounter and fight those enemies which have broken Covenant with

us, that so they may shortly (if God please) return to their Allegiance.

And we intreat you to graunt our Ser-vants, the Inhabitants of the Port, your best assistance in what ever they shall have need of your help and supply. And whatsoever of our Consorts shall come to you, we beseech you not to be wanting in your Care towards them.

But the most earnest and important business which concerns us to mention to you is, for a great ship to lye at the Port between us and the enemy, on purpose to cut off all relief by shipping from the Enemy, and pray let it be hastened with its fraught, provision and all other necessaries. This is our chief business which we entreat you to accomplish, according to our desires. And any of the Ships that shall come to this Port, shall drive away whatsoever Merchant ships they find there, and seise their goods. For the only thing we are wanting in, and in need of assistance, is this business of the Merchants. Thus we have given you the full of our desires in what we have written. And let God accomplish all your desires. Farewell,

Written the third day of the week be-
ing

Of West Barbary.

121

*ing the twenty fifth of the month Dul-
hevil the last month of the 1073. year
of the Hegira.*

*The Servant of God who
trusteth in him Abdal-
la ebn Mahamed ebn
Abebeker, of blessed
memory.*

The Superscription,

To the chief of the Nobles Lord
and Governour of *Tanger* the
Earle *Tiveot* whom God pre-
serve.

Another Letter.

I*N the name of God the Greatest of all
Great ones, whom we worship and serve
and none other.*

*To the most excellent Count Tiveot Cap-
tain General of Tanger, the Just and Va-
liant, greeting and desiring that he may
have health and Prosperity which we va-
lue much.*

We

We receiv'd the Servants of your Excellency in our Countrey, for whom we have done what we are able, and have commanded our Vassels to guard them to Tanger. The Present made us by your Excellency we kindly receive. God augment your Honour and Happiness.

In all that is required at our Hand, Let it be upon our head, that we serve you with much willingness, Being that we are made Friends we esteem your Friendship much. My Son and Cousins Greet your Excellency, desiring God that you may have health. Subscribed Almodem Cassian Shat.

This *Shat*, is Father to one of *Gayan's* Wives, numerous in alliances, and reported to be an *Andalusian*, on of the race of the Moors banisht Spain; He hath hereditary to his Family, the command of *Angera*, which is a large *Cavila* adjoining unto *Tanger*. And having lodged at this Grandee's house, I may from our entertainment there be able to give you an account of the Moors hospitality, which differs not in the fashion, however it may vary in the stuff.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Moresco Entertainment, fashion of Travelling, Hospitals, Diet, Reverence to Corn, forbidden Meats.

IN the Year of Salvation, 1663. Sept. the sixth, at the going down of the Sun, we came to an *Aldéa* called *Angerá*, at the utmost Bounds of a Mountain of that name; where we repair'd to the House of *Cidi Cassian Shat*, whom we found sitting at his Door, environ'd with about twenty aged *Moors* of the Neighborhood. Alighting from our Horses, we deliver'd our *Segúra*, or Letters of safe Conduct, to the Old Man; who when he had perused, return'd them with a grave Nod, the testimony of his Approbation, and the signal of our Welcome. This done, we were called to a little upper Room, which we could not enter till we had put off our Shoos at the Threshold; not for Religion, but

I Clean.

Cleanliness, and not to prevent our unhallowing of the Floor, but, defiling the Carpets wherewith it was curiously spread. At the upper end of the Room was laid a Velvet Cushion, as large as those we use in our Pulpits, and it denoted the most Honourable part of the Room. After we had reposed about an hour, there was brought in a little oval Table, about twenty Inches high, which was covered with a long piece of narrow Linnen; and this served for Diaper. For the *Moors*, by their Law, are forbidden such superfluous Utensils as Napkins, Knives, Spoons, &c. Their Religion laying down this general Maxim, *That meer Necessaries are to be provided for*: which caused a precise *Moor* to refuse to drink out of my Dish, when he could sup Water enough out of the hollow of his Hand. But this straitness has of late Years begun to be enlarged, and the prohibition is interpreted to reach no farther then their Church-men, and chief Ministers of Justice; so that those who are able to provide handsome Furniture for their Tables, have a Dispensation, which they seem not prone to make use of

of, if the humour of the rest may be de-
 vined by that of this Grandee : At whose
 House the Table was adorned as before,
 and for Supper there was placed upon
 it an Earthen Pot full of Mutton, Beef,
 Cabage, Raisins, Potato's, Berengénas,
 &c. all boyled together, and extream-
 ly hot with Dimicuto and Garlick, which
 is their immutable Sawce. This hodge-
 podge was in imitation of the *Spanish*
Olla Podrida, excepting that it wanted
 Bacon, an Ingredient so indispensible
 to the *Spanish Olla*, that there can be
 none without it, which occasion'd this
 Proverb, *No Sermon without St. Austin,*
nor Olla without Bacon : Ny Sermon sin
Agostino, ny Olla sin locino. But to pro-
 ceed in our Bill of Fare: our next Course
 was a single Pullet cloven down the Bel-
 ly, with the four Quarters spread out at
 large, by a way of Cookery peculiar to
 the *Moors*. And these two Dishes, with
 store of good Bread, made up the Feast.
 Our Drink was strong Wine newly
 brought from the Press, which stood by
 us in a great stone Jar, with a sort of
 wooden Ladle in it, out of which we
 drunk. Our posture was laying round
 I 2 about

about the Table, according to the custom of the Countrey. Our company was the second Son of this Family, a debonaire Gentile Person. Having supped, and solaced our selves with muddy Beverage and *Moresco* Music, we all composed our selves to sleep: About twenty were allotted to Lodge in this small Chamber, whereof two were Christians, three Jews, and the rest *Moors*: every one made his Bed of what he wore, which made our *English* Constitutions to wish for the Morning, which no sooner appeared but we quitted our Lodging, leaving our Entertainer *sans adieu*, not tarrying to return thanks for his Hospitality; which could incur no displeasure, as conforming to the stile of the Countrey. And this Breviate of *Cidi Cassian's* hospitable House-keeping, is an Essay of the rest, for the *Moors* have all one fashion of living, and their Houses, Diet, and Apparel vary not, but in the matter.

Now that which makes Journying in *Barbary* so full of Fatigue, is the want of Houses of Publick Entertainment (like the *Ventà's* and *Posáda's* in *Spain*; the *Caborets* and *Hóstelries* in *France*; and

and Inns in *England*) whereby the Travellers are constrain'd to carry their Provisions with them. The *Moors* usual Viaticum are Raisins, parch'd Beans, Onions, Garlick, and store of Bread. They rely upon the Fountains for their Drink, which are kept in great decency and cleanness: at every Fountain there being a Dish made of Cork, fastned with a string, out of which Man and Beast drink for refreshment. Many of these Fountains are provided with a large smooth Stone, whereon the *Moor*, after he has perform'd his preparative Washing, celebrates his *Salla*, or Orisons. And the *Bigots* that live near these Fountains, every day repair thither to pay their *Bigotage*, or Superstitious Devotions.

They usually shut up their Journey at the going down of the Sun; and if there be an *Aldéa* or Village at hand, they turn thither for House-room, and lodge commonly in a Cotage, as mean as that wherein *Ovid's* aged Couple entertain'd the Pilgrim Gods. But if it be Summer, or the Weather fair, then they repair to some shady Tree, under whose protection they sleep and eat. If the place

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be suspected for bad Neighbors, the Travellers watch by turns, and do the like in places that are troubled with wild Beasts.

When I said that the *Moors* have no Houses of Accommodation, it was with exception of the *Almamóra's*, or Chambers maintain'd by the Revenues of the Church, built on purpose to receive Strangers of any Perswasion. These Houses afford nothing but room to Lodge in; but if it happen that Travellers are in want of meat, the Villagers are ready to supply them. The *Alfaquí*, or Priest of the place, hath Inspection and Superintendency of these Hospitals. The *Moors* have likewise peculiar Places, resembling the Infirmatories or *Lazaretto's* in other Nations, for those that fall sick in their Journeys, whom they treat with a laudable Care, till they either recover or dye: And if the infirm dye, not leaving wherewith to bury him, there is care taken for his Funeral, and a *Muláto*, or some baser *Moor*, is appointed to beg the Alms of the place to defray the Expence of the Strangers Interment. In these *Almamóra's*, the Stranger is permitted

mitted to stay till the Weather and his Health dispose him for his Journey: but they repine at his abode, when it is not urged by necessity.

In later Years, every Town of Traffick hath erected a sort of Inns, called *Alfandách*, which affords nothing but House-room for Man and Beast, the Market yielding Provision for both. Those that farm these *Fandáchs*, cannot exact above a Blankil a Night both for Man and Beast, which is in sterling Money about two pence. The Horses Lodging costing equally with his Riders.

These *Fandáchs* were at first built by the wealthier sort of *Moors*, who dying in a pious humour, gave them to the *Gi-ámma* or Church, to hallow, say the *Mo-resco* Rabbies, the filthy lucre raised by their employment. However, the *Gi-ámma* has its Revenues greatly augmented by such Donations. And whatever was the Design of their Institution, we find them of late under a great Degeneracy, being little better then Tipling Shops, where the *Moors* Quaff the Fruit of the Vine. But that which herein most raised my Admiration, was to see the In-

comes of these *Fandáchs*, appropriated to the maintenance of the *Alfaqúi's* or Priests, and that that Holy Order, having the disposal of such Houses, should not see them under a more regular administration.

But to go from these Publick Houses to view the *Moors* in their private Roofs, I find them in their Caresses frugal, without Parsimoniousness, and placing no Character of good House-keeping in abundance of Viands. They have two dishes in singular esteem, the chief whereof *Lnscufsòn*, which is made of Water and Flower, or grated Bread, boyled into a Consistence, into which they put Butter, or any Kitchen-stuff: And this they eat without Spoons; for when it is ready, every one that is admitted to taste it, dives into it with his hand, and dancing it in his Fist, till it be shap'd into a Ball and cool'd, then casts it into his Mouth. The other dish is known by the name of *Pillón*, vulgarly pronounced *Plám*, and it is the same with that which I said has so near a resemblance with the Spanish *Olla Podrida*. Besides these two Dishes, the *Moors* of a better allay make their

their Breakfasts of *Bonuelo's*, or small Loaves boyled in Oyl, which they eat with Sugar, or Honey.

The Countrey *Moors* feed much on Milk, which they are by their Law forbidden to taste, if it has been touch'd by a Dog. They have store of Cheese, but very course and homely. And as for their Butter, we may suspect their cleanliness in making it; for they Churn it in a Sheep or Goat skin, dressed or fitted for that office, which they shake between their Hands.

But not much delighted with their Dary-house, I leave it to observe their Reverence to Bread and Corn, which is both great and general, for from the Throne to the Plough, if any see a crum of the one, or a grain of the other cast out, or scatter'd, he stoops to take it up, kisseth it, puts it to his Fore-head, and looking up, saith, *Dill an, It is from God*; and then gives it to the first Creature that will eat it.

CHAP.

Of the *Moreſco* Giamma's, or Churches: their Foundation, Conſecration, manner of Structure, Subordination.

ALL Religions in their firſt model and Conſtitution have had ſome leſs intelligible Articles and things of a remoter ſignification, mingled with their eaſier Doctrin's, and more obvious Inſtitutions. And there has ever bin found a Catholique agreement, not only in the main Article of the Deity, but alſo in ſome ſolemn manner of his worſhip. Upon which conſideration there were ritual circumſtances eſtabliſhed, for the more decent celebration of Religious Miniſters. In the number of which *ritual Circumſtances*, I eſteem a *dedicate place*, *Separate Time*, *ſolemn Actions*, *Preſcript Forms*, and above all a *diſtinct Order of Perſons*, by whom the Exterior Religion is to be officiated, and to whom for the Power & Sacredneſs of their Function there have ever bin decreed

creed convenient Observances and Revenues. How determinate the *Alchoran* is in these particulars, falls not within the compass of these remarks, but it is evident to those that attentively read it, that the Author thereof seems not in any thing to be definitive. But what ever the mind was of that Impostor concerning the mentioned Rites, we find his Sectaries have in all their Dominions made Provision for Solemnity in their Worship. Being guided thereunto either by the more lasting and regular Principles of Reason, or in imitation of some people of an other Perswasion, which they esteem'd Wise and Deliberate. Nor can *Mahumed* be blamed for not leaving Decretals in the Rights of worship, because their nature is of so great an indifferency, that no Religion doth acknowledge them to be determined in every particular by any Law, meriting, or usurping, the title Divine: neither is there any thing in themselves to make them originally necessary.

And therefore without enquiring into the Motives by which the Moors or others have been induced to the usage of
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the Accessories of Religion, I only observe that the Moors are not therein defective; having Churches, Priests, Times, Revenues, &c. appropriate to the Divine Adoration.

I shall begin with their *Giámma's*, *Moschs* or Churches in which this Country abounds, and to which the Moors perform a great Reverence and liberality, never suffering them to be profan'd, nor to want a competent stock to keep them in repairs. The manner observ'd in the erection of a new *Giámma* is orderly and laudable, which is thus: When a considerable Number of People have agreed and resolved to settle together in neighborhood, they seek out a piece of ground convenient for their purpose, which by mutual consent is divided, every family being allowed sufficient Room, whereof to rear an habitation. This done their next care is to set apart a spot of Earth for the foundation of their *Giámma*, with great regard that it have no considerable inequality of distance from their several habitations. After they have thus fram'd their Designe, the *Giámma*
is

is first built, to which Holy work all ages, sexes, and qualities of persons contribute their labours Gratis, every one valuing it for a peculiar felicity and honour to have his hands and shoulders wearied in such a sacred imployment. The fabrick or *Giámma* being finish'd, they dedicate it to no Patronage but the Publique Worship, nor use any other ceremony of consecration, but only choose one that is able to read the *Alcoran*, whom they accompany to the new *Giámma*, where some parcel of their Law is read, and their *Sallà's*, or offices perform'd, and from that time it is accounted a Holy place. And the *Giámma* being thus raised to its full Stature, every family begins a Cotage for it self, and when they are built, they seek for an *Alfaqui*, or Priest, to Officiate in their new Church, with whom they agree for a yearly Pension.

But we must restrain this custome of building Churches to the *Barabárs* who have fixed Mansions; for the *Alárbs* who retain no place of constant habitation, have for their *Giámma* a large Tent standing exactly in the middle of their dwelling

dwelling-Tents, whither they resort at Canonical hours to their Orisons, in which they are conformable to the other Moors.

The Giámma's doe all agree in the fashion of structure; being all long and generally narrow, not running into Iles, nor branching into Chappels and Quires. Their situation is East and West, without any windows at all, nor have their Giámma's doores but on the North-side. [*They are without the too easie accommodations of seats, Pews, or benches:*] the floor of the Giámma is handsomely matted, and so are the walls about two foot high. If the roof be large and weighty it is supported with pillars, among which hang the lamps, which are kept burning all the night.

Every Giámma has a turret, on whose top is placed a Crescent, or half Moon (a *Mahumedan* Cognizance) from this Turret the *Almudén*, or Sexton, with a loud voice invites the People to Prayers, which supplies the forbidden use of Bells. The Moors keep their Giámma's in a very Reverend decency, never permitting any dilapidations. None are
vouch-

vouchsafed to enter them but the Males of their own Religion, which makes it dangerous for Christians or Jews to look within them; yet if this happens they think not the Holy place to be thereby any way desecrated. But this signal respect to their Churches, renders not their Devotions elsewhere perform'd, to be invalid; yet if possible they never faile to be at their *Giámma's*, attributing much to the Statary prayers made in the Church.

In greater Towns there are many *Giámma's*: in *Tituán* fifteen, in *Alcázar* more, in *Arzila*, five, and in *Fez* seven hundred. Among which there is a subordination, for the *Giámma Gheber*, or *Great Giámma*, being the *Cathedral*, or Mother-Church, commands the rest, and is the Cure of the *Alcalib*, or Chief-Priest. To the *Giamma Gheber* all the other *Giámma's* conforme in the houre of publique offices, and though all the rest are hung with Lamps, yet this has one of a peculiar shape and quantity, called *Ettouria*, or the Master-Lamp, in testimony of the Chutche's Prelacy.

CHAP. VII.

Of the *Moresco* Priests, their education, Orders, Office, Reverence of the Priest, Revenue, the *Almudén*, Penalties for absence from the *Giámma*'s.

THe Moors have at this day no Schools of Science, like the European Universities and Colledges; which may be a main reason of their Growing stupidity and Barbarism; for the want either of leisure, or lack of opportunity to study Arts and Sciences, because their whole time is spent in gaining whereon to live, through a deficiency whereof the politest Nations will soon degenerate into ignorance and rusticity. As for the Colledge call'd *Amarodóch* in *Fex* (whose structure cost King *Aba Henen* 480000 Crowns, and which has been so amply celebrated for the Concinnity of its building, delightfulness of scituation, carved roof, Mosaic

Mosaic Arches and brazen gates) it is now wholly destitute of Students. And if the Moors were not carefull to keep up great store of Petty Schooles, they would soon decay and fall into a total illiterature. In these Petty Scholes the *Alfâqui*, or Priest, takes in the first rudiments of his Learning, without any possibility of climbing higher than to write and read; and if a Youth be found towardsly and capacious; and bearing a good affection to the Priesthood, when he has arriv'd to the first forme in the School, he is removed thence, and placed with one of the best learned *Alfâqui's* in the Town, or *Cavila* where the School is kept. And this new Tutor instructs his Pupil to read the *Alcoran* with perspicuity, and to understand the principal points it containes: The Tutor likewise informes him of all the Rites of the *Giâmma*, which being both few and easy, are quickly obtain'd; and when the Schollar is deem'd competent both for age and Learning to be a Priest, then his Institutor call's two or three *Alfâquis* more to examine the Candidate, who being found deserving, they grant him

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him Testimonials of his willingness and abilities to be an *Alfaqui*: And this is all the education and Orders, which I could observe to be bestowed upon their Priests. But it is very remarkable, that among the Moors none are admitted to this Holy Dignity, but such as are of a competent age, and married; for the former they render this reason, a Novice ought not to be admitted to the Priesthood; but I conceive that their jealousy, with which they are notoriously gifted, is the fittest account can be given of the later.

The Moors suffer no *Giamma* to be vacant, because they esteem an *Alfaqui* to be altogether necessary to exterior Religion; and that Common Persons, or the Laity, performing the solemn offices of Religion, doth make them common. For Holy Rites are no more to be dispensed by all, than the secular Laws; and though all men have common Interest both in Religion. & the Laws, yet all cannot be Administers of either. And upon this consideration, that in the Combinations and Communions of men Religion cannot subsist, without some

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to guide, officiate, and prescribe the ministeries thereof, the Moors are diligent to provide an *Alfaqui* for every *Giamma*, that there may be no vacancy, nor omission in the service.

To the *Alfaqui* the Lay-Moors pay a signal Reverence, giving him the more honourable hand, and place. They plough his ground, dress his vineyard, reap his Corn, &c. to the end that by no secular cares he may be interrupted in his Function; And by this I am guided to look into the office of the *Alfaqui*, which is first, to preserve the *Giamma* in decency, and to provide that the structure be not dilapsed, & that the Lamps and matts be duely supplied. But the Priest never puts his hand to any servile work, having those under him upon whom all the drudgery is discharged.

The second part of the *Alfaqui's* office is, to inspect the Institution of the children; to which purpose he hath usually under him, one that is fit for the toyle, and reserves to himself no more but the examination of the Childrens proficiency, which he doth once a week; and those whom he finds remiss, receive

his Correction, but the diligent, the marks of his approbation. They have no free Schools, but pay a weekly salary to those whom the *Alfaqui* doth appoint to teach, for none can be a School-Master without his Licence and approof.

His next care is to take notice who absent themselves from the *Giámma*, having power at his own discretion to punish whomsoever he observes to be therein delinquent. He is very vigilant to assist the sick, whom dying he accompanies to the Grave. If there happen any disagreement among the Neighbours, the *Alfaqui* mediates a reconcilement, but if the Quarrel exceeds ill language, and be concerning *Meum* and *Tuum*, he is not permitted to intermeddle.

If the *Alfaqui* dislike his Cure, he hath liberty of removall, being not confin'd to any *Parochial* *Giámma* above a year, and he seldome contracts for a longer space. And for that time he is the Superintendent of the *Mosch*, out of whose Rents he defraies all the Charges for Reparations; &c. takeing the surplussage for himselfe.

And now the remarke passeth to the
Reve

Revenues of the Giámma, which chiefly arise from the Donatives of the dead. In some places the Incoms are very large, in all comfortable ; for the Moors exercise a great benevolence to places dedicated to Religion : whereby they reproach many stiled Christians, who cast aside the least sheaf for the Tenth, and who are so far from enlarging the Churches Patrimony, that they are ready to devour the pitiful Remainder that she still enjoys.

Muley Mabumed, in his third Commandment, enjoynes his *Musalmim* Liberality, and Alms-deeds, which proceeding from goods honestly gotten are according to the *Alcoran* meritorious of Paradise. He likewise prefers private Almes before the publick, and declares the Devil to be an implacable enemy against this expression of mercy. And indeed there are many such pious doctrines in the *Alcoran*, but they are but as so many good eares of corn in a good field of Tares, or as so many single grains lost in a heap of chaff : it having been the subtilty of the old Serpent in all ages, to guild over his poysonous Pills,

and to blend Truth with falshood, that the latter might be embrac'd for the sake of the former. Besides it is an ancient mistake to think, that Truth and falshood are of too great a contrariety and distance to mingle and concorporate; which makes many when they have found some truth in Doctrine, to conclude no falshood to be joyned with it. And those truths which are dispersed up and down in *Mahumed's* Law, being evident to its Professors, make them credulous of the whole system. And though they are zealous for all the precepts, yet for none more than that which concernes Alms-deeds; for they have their *Ashorab* which is an Anniversary Festival, whereat they bestow a certain quantity of their Substance upon the Poore. But the greatest Bounties are towards the *Giámma*, to which every one at his death leaves a Portion of his estate, by which method the *Giámma* has considerable endowments, which are under a continual improvement, and made capable of no manner of Alienation.

To every *Giámma* there belongs an *Almudén*, or a kind of Sexton, whose office

fice is to call the people to Church at the houres of prayer ; which he doth from the top of the Turret (mention'd above) crying with a voice articulate and loud, *Illáh Ghebèr, God is the great;* and sometimes, *Lailláh La Mahumed Refúl allá.* There is but one God, and *Mahumed* the Messenger of God. And these words the *Almudèn* pronounceth at every corner of the Turret, beginning at the East, and ending at the point that looks toward *Mecha*; by which they signify, that all the corners of the world should look towards *Mecha* in worshipping the Deity, that is be *Mahumedans*.

The next office of the *Almudèn* is, to open the doores of the *Giámma*, to trim the Lamps, and keep the mats in repair and cleanliness. He also informes the *Alfáqui*, who hath an inherent power to punish those who can shew no good reason of their absence.

But the penalty is very tolerable, being no more than five or six pounds of *Cuscussum*, which the offender brings to the *Giámma*, where it is eaten by the Priest and the Assembly. None are found to offend therein through contempt, or

wilfulness, nor yet through the pursuance of their pleasures ; for there is so strict an observance of the Church-service, that the husband will leave the society of his wife to be there, if he hears the *Almuden* speaking the *Invitatory*. The last branch of the *Almuden's* office is to dismiss the people , which he doth at the end of the Salla, or Orisons, in the same words that he called them together. And now before I close up this chapter, I cannot, speaking of their Ecclesiastique penance, but observe that the Moors have no such thing as excommunication, so that they are for no crime debarr'd the *Giámma* ; but on the contrary the greatest mulct inflicted by the Priest is for their absence, above three times in twenty four hours, from that Holy Place.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Moors set-times of Prayer. The preparation, Entrance into, and deportment in the Giánima. Church-Musick.

THE Moor's season of Prayers returns five times in twenty four hours, or a Natural day; The first is, *Alowilic Shab*, and comes about Noone; The second they call *Allahiric Luli*, which is about three a clock in the afternoon; The third *Ateltháb Afer*, at the going down of the Sun; The fourth *Alarbée Ashá*, a little within night; The last, *Alhamsáb Magnib*, which is in winter a little before day. At every assembling the Prayers are the same, except that at the *Allahiric Luli* they repeat the *La illa Ghebér* but thrice. The Moors esteem the prayers made in the Giánima to be of the greatest efficacy, and therefore all endeavour to performe them there, but those who cannot repair thither, doe discharge this duty, where
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the solemn houres find them

In their addressees to these Holy celebrations the Moors use great tokens of reverence, being very punctual in fitting themselves for the *Giámma*. Their general preparative consists in washing; which is such a necessary right, that without its observation it is impossible to be of their Religion. And it is notorious to all acquainted with the *Mahomedan* Institutes, that Washing is a great part of that Law; nor need this create any man's wonder, seeing that all the *Musalmim* of the *Alcoran* use washing in a mystic signification of internal purity, and that the soul receives the benefit of their corporeal Lavors. None among them returne from natural evacuations, but they wash the parts liable to defilement, nor will any who is a Virtuoso in the Ceremomies; eat with unwasht handes: which at first I Interpreted a mere Civil Cleanliness, because they use no knives, &c. but tear their viands in pieces with their fingers, but upon farther scrutiny I perceiv'd it to be reckon'd by the superstitious among the Actions of Religion.

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In places where they have hot Bathes (which are in few places wanting) they use them after concubinate, and all improvident pollutions ; but their greatest exactness in washing, is at their going to prayer. Then every part where nature disburdens her excretions, is warily cleansed, and the other parts also which are more egregiously obnoxious to pollution. If any Moor after he has washt at home, in his way to the Giámma chance but to belch, he dares not enter the Holy roof untill he has us'd the lotion. And therefore in the foundation of a Giámma, great care is taken that it may stand near some spring, or receptacle of water, that those who come to the Church, may be provided with that element in case of any contingent defilement, without the trouble of returning home to wash.

When they come to the door of the Giámma, every one puts off his shooes at the threshold, and then enters with a slow pace, erect body, and eyes bashfully looking towards Heaven: in this posture they advance directly to the southside of the Giámma, and they always

ways make their prayers toward that point, because in all their devotions they are commanded to make them toward *Mecha*. While they are in the *Giámma* none dare openly to yawne, Cough, walk, discourse, spit, scratch his head or face, but if any has need but to wipe his lipps, he doth it unseen, covering his countenance with his *Albeic*, which is a loose garment generally worn by the *Mcors*.

And by these Reverences in their Carriage toward Holy places and Performances, they are taught to upbraid the Christians, whose behaviours at sacred solemnities some of the Moors have observ'd to be of a far different character. And this I learned from a Moor who had unluckily been in England to make the animadversion, with whome when I discours'd about this point, he told me with anger and indignation in his looks, that it was a shame to see women, Dogs, and dirty shcoes, brought into a place sacred to God's worship, and that men should walk and discourse in a *Mosch*, as in a publick *Borsa* or *Exchange*, and that they should have Chaires there to sit in with as much lascivious ease, as at home

home: which with other actions of the like irreverence he zealously repeated to reproach the Christian. And indeed I was not furnisht with arguments to (nor could in conscience) excuse any considerable part of his Animadversion: only I told him; That as for the exclusion of Women from the publick offices of the *Mosch*, it was a doctrine of the *Alcoran*, grounded upou conceits of imperfection peculiar to that sex, which are not so far to be own'd, as for them to exclude the females from the meanes of their chiefest felicity. Besides this excommunication of women, was an Article of Interest and Policy, and which *Mahumed* adopted into his Religion on purpose to complease the Jew, who at this day begins his publick Prayer with a thanksgiving to God, *que no le hizo muger*, that he did not make him a woman, a creature not allowed to serve him in the Synagogue, & that seeing we wanted reasons which moved the Moors to this practice, we could incurr no scandal by its rejection. As for his objecting our bringing Dogs into the Church, I told him it was an uncomely and irreverend permission

mission & wholly abhorr'd by knowing-Christians ; that there was a Provision made against it, and that it had been his ill hap to look into a Church, where the Sanction in that particular met with a remiss execution. Next, as to our having seates in the *Mosch* (for I was to speak in his own dialect) and to sit at some parts of Divine service, Custom and innocent convenience were all that any one could pretend to hollow it. But as for walking in the Church in time of Divine Service, or therein at any time to discourse of secular concerns, that it was only the practise of profane and ill disciplin'd minds, the miscarriage of the rude, contrary to the Rule, and a certain argument of a relaxed Discipline and negligent Superintendent.

Pudet hac opprobria---

But I return to the *Giámma*, whither the *Alfáqui* comes not till a considerable number of the People are assembled ; who in the Priests absence spend their time in a devout repetition of the *Sal-lab*,

lab, a Word that signifies the whole Form of their Prayers. And when the *Alfáqui* is come, he advanceth straight to the South-side of the *Mosch*, and the People fall orderly into ranks behind him. Upon this the Priest begins the Prayer in a Voice moderately elevated, which the People humbly repeat after him. At the pronouncing of *Illah El Gheber*, that is, *God is the great*, they all use an Elevation both of Hands and Eyes to Heaven: at the name of *Mecha*, they all kiss the Ground; but when they mention *Muley Mahumed*, and the Mercies he procures them, they fall prostrate, and upon the sudden, in a kind of Rapture, reassume an erect. When the Priest hath repeated *la illah Mahumed Resul Allah* four times, the *Almuden* dismisseth the People. And when they leave the *Giamma*, the *Alfáqui* goes first, as a token of his Prelacy above the People. Their *Salláb* or Service is very short, for if it took up any considerable time, the frequency of its return would take up most of their leisure, and thereby be a sensible impediment to their Temporal Vocations.

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In the closure of this Chapter, I thought to have spoken something of the *Moreſco* Muſick in the *Mofch*, but this I found to be a delightful piece of Devotion, wherein they ſeem to be very ignorant. I have been told, that in former time they had in every *Giámma* ſome Lay-perſons, that underſtood the *Cadences* of the *Alcoran*, and which could ſing it in its Original Metre, which muſt needs be very harſh Harmony, if any at all, in regard of the incapacity that is in the *Alcoran* Language to fall into Syllabical Measures and Tuneable Proportions. Beſides, the *Moors* have very harſh and ſawing Voices, as they will have cauſe to obſerve who have had their Ears grated with their Amorous Sonnets, in which all are wont to expreſs their ſweeteſt and beſt moving Accents.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Moreſco Church Govern-
ment. The Alcalib, or High-
Priest. The Inſtruction of the
Women. Forms of Prayer.
Charms compoſed by the Mara-
bitós or Marabours. Sabbath,
its Inſtitution, Celebration.

Some have laid it down for a great
Reach in *Muley Mahumed*, that he
reſerv'd the Church-Government to
himſelf and his Succeſſors: Which is ſtill
viſible in the Grand *Seignior* and the
Sophi; for albeit the one hath a *Muſti*,
and the other a *Muſtard-Dini* to inſpect
the Eccleſiaſtick Affairs, and to be as
the Oracular Interpreters of the *Mabu-
medan* Law, yet their Election is incom-
municably in themſelves. And albeit
that theſe Principal Church-men are had
in ſo great eſteem with their Princes,
that their Decisions are ſcarce ever con-
tradicted

tradicted by them, yet when their Determinations are not consistent with the Interest of the Publick, these great Oracles are dismist, and others introduc'd, who are not so scrupulous in their Sentences. By which it is evident, that the *Mahumedan* Princes are in effect the Heads of the Church, and chief Expositors of Religion. But not much of this can be observed in the *Moors* Church-Government, who have in every *Cavilla* (or County) an *Alcalib*, or High-Priest, in whose nomination the secular Power doth not at all interpose, for he is chosen out of, and by the *Alfaquis*, over whom he is invested with a Power, whereby he is enabled to Depose, or otherwise Chastise the Offending Clergy. Immediately upon this Arch-Priests Election, he is possess'd of the *Giámma Gheber*, or Great Church: Wherein upon every Friday he Expounds some Text of the *Alchoran*, unto which Exercise he always goes accompanied with the chief Personages of the Neighborhood. And being enter'd the Church, he immediately ascends the *Albambár* (which is a Bench about five steps from the Ground) with a

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tall Staff in his Hand, wherewith he often beats upon the Bench to express his Zeal, and to awaken the People to a more signal attention to what he then delivers. This Discourse, Homily, Exposition, or Sermon, exceeds not an hour and a quarter in length, and is deliver'd exactly by heart. And when it is ended, the *Almuden* dissolves the Congregation, and the *Alcalib* returns to his House accompanied with the chief of the place, and in his passage he receives the customary Tokens of respect from the People. And whatever some Cursory Review of this Countrey tell us of the other Priests making Sermons to the People, yet having with some diligence made enquiry into this particular, I found that the Office of Preaching was peculiar to the *Alcalib*, or Chief-Priest, and that no Sermons were celebrated at any other Church, but at the *Giamma Gheber* (that which I may English the Cathedral.) This eminent Church-man is seldom seen in Publick, but at this Exercise; for to make himself the more Reverenced he affects retirement, spending his hours in the study of the *Alchoran*, and in resolving

ving such Cases as the Layity present him, who esteem his Resolutions infallible. And this, with a careful Inspection into the deportment of the Inferior Clergy, doth constitute the Office and Government of the *Alcalib*. As for his Revenues, they are suitable to his condition: and as to his Life, it is austere and reserv'd, he affecting a peculiar Gravity in all his carriage. Every *Alcalib* has his distinct Diocess, , out of which he has no power, so that the *Alcalib* of *Beni-Arós* hath nothing to do in *Minkél*, for every one is absolute in his own *Ca- zila*.

At the publick Instructions of the *Gi- ámma*, none are present but the Males, for the Women, as I said, are denyed admission into the Assembly, yet are not wholly destitute of the means of being taught Religion: for upon every Friday they repair to the House of the *Alfaqut*, where his Wife is bound to instruct them: But her Lectures usually concern good Housewifry, and how they should demean themselves to their Husbands, in Obedience and Submission, and to live in Peace with their Fellow-wives. All
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the while the Women are at the Priests House, he is not to return home, nor stir out of the *Giámma*, but hath his Meat brought him thither. But for what reason the Priest should be under this restraint, I leave any one to imagine, who has heard of the *Moresco* Jealousie. But now in case the Priest has no Wife, who seldom wants four; or that by any Indisposition she is not able to perform this Office, then it is discharged by some aged Matron of the place: and for a further supplement of the Womens being debarr'd of the *Giámma*, their Husbands repeat unto them such Lessons as they have heard there. And this is all that on this account I could observe of the *Moors* Women.

Muley Mahumed styled Prayer the Key of Paradise, and the Pillar of Religion, that he might the better recommend its practice to his Converts, who generally maintain so careful a performance of this Duty, that no secular business can detain them from, nor any thing divert them at their Devotion. I once endeavor'd to collect their Prayers into an Order, the better to take a distinct view of this Pil-
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lar of their Religion, but I found them reduced to no certain Form extracted out of the *Alcoran*, but were a Collection of some incoherent Sentences magnifying the Power and Mercy of God. Their first Prayer, or rather their Creed, is that which the *Almuden* Proclaims with a loud voice, when he calls the People to the *Mosch*; as there is but one God, and *Mahumed* his Messenger: and this admits of no variation. The second Prayer is the first Chapter of the *Alcoran*, where, in there is some difference according to Translations (in which the *Alcoran* hath been very unhappy) but those which I have seen in *Latin*, *Spanish*, and *French*, agree in this Translation of the Chapter.

In the Name of God, Gracious and Merciful, King of the Day of Judgment: thou art He whom we adore: it is from Thee that we require help: guide us in the right way, in the way of those with whom Thou art pleased, against whom Thou art not angry, and we shall not go astray. This Prayer is repeated with the former, after the same manner as the Papists repeat their Pater noster with the Ave Maria;

ria: For the *Moors* have their *Tessera Precaria*, or their Beads, wherewith they number their Prayers, And the whole *Corona* or *Rosary* consists of ninety eight, which the *Devoti*, or Religiously affected, carry always about them. They have a Custom to repeat often together the first Words of the Prayer, which they conclude to be a great act of Charity, as supplying by this Repetition the defaults of such as are remiss in this duty.

In the Name of God, Merciful and Gracious, is the Proeme of every Chapter in the *Alcoran*, and were the first Words that *Mahumed* is said to have spoken when he came out of his *Epileptick* Fits, which he made the People believe were Trances. And with the same Words the *Mahumedan* Doctors begin all their Discourses, and the Letters written in *Morefco* Language, if the Pen-men are precise, are likewise introduced in the same Form. There is a Learned Man, that tells of a Prayer among the *Mahumedans*, which is called, *The Prayer of Jesus the Son of Mary*, ending thus, *And let not such an one bear rule over me, that*

will have no pity upon me, for thy mercy sake, O thou most merciful. But having diligently enquired, I could not find that the present *Moors* have any such Letyany in their Uses. There are few who are able to read, that want Manuals of Private Devotions, which are composed by the *Morabito's*, or *Morabouts*, and are indeed rather to be termed Charms, then Prayers. Now these *Morabito's* or *Morabouts*, are a sort of *Alárbes* which are skilled, or so pretend to be, in the Law of *Mahumed*, severe in their Conversation, bearing a great ostentation of Sanctity, pretending to Prophecie, or Predictions. They compose all sorts of Charms, to which the *Moor* is so addicted, that he has one for every occasion: I have seen a whole Book thereof, containing some for the Child-bearing Women, to facilitate their Travel; some for the Passenger, to guide him in the way; some for the Soldier; and one for the Horse, which is much in the Service of the Saddle: This they hang under the Beasts Neck, and believe that it keeps him from being blind, or dim-sighted. They have likewise Spells to keep

keep their Cattel healthy, and make them fruitful, all compos'd by the *Morabouts* and Priests; the latter, of late, being much given to this sort of Compo-sures,

And now from these short Notices of the *Giámma* and its Appendages, I pass to speak of the *Moresco* Sabbaoth. * That the fifth day of the Week, is the Weekly Festival of the *Mahumedans*, to distinguish them from the *Jew*, who keeps the sixth according to our account, and from the Christian who observes the seventh, is known unto every one that knows any thing of this subject. About the Institution of this Sabbaoth, variety of Opinions may be met with: For some derive its Original from the veneration *Mahumed* bore to the New Moon, which is said to have appeared on Friday, the same day he began his Imposture; and in memory of so happy an abodement, he set apart this for Solemn Worship. There is another Conjecture which fetcheth its Institution from some Heathen Rites paid on this day to *Venus*, whose name Friday bears. But there is little ground of this Opinion, further

further then it may well suit with the Genius of *Mahumedism*, to have a day Sacred to the Goddess of Carnality. But that Opinion herein seems best to agree with the Chronicles of *Mahumed*, which makes his escape from the Conspiracy of the Nobles of *Mecha*, to have been the occasion of this Sabbaoth, from which deliverance the *Mahumedan Hegera* had its Original and Name. And in this *Mahumed* undoubtedly imitated the Ancient Christians, who took their *Æsta's* from some notable Persecutions. But whatever was the Original of this Sabbaoth, I observ'd that it has no great marks of Reverence above other days: for on it the *Moors* go to Plough, hold their Markets, open Shops, and omit little of their Ordinaries, so that I must retract my calling of it a Sabbaoth.

They indeed on this day have an Exposition at the *Giámma Gheber*, and on it they put on their whitest *Albeics*, dress their Locks, and are seen in their best Accoutrements. The Women likewise on this day visit the Sepulchres, and and strew the Graves of their deceased Friends with green Boughes and Herbs.

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And this is all that I have been able to remark upon this subject.

CHAP. X.

Of the Moresco Judicatory, chief Minister of Justice, Rule and manner of Process, Testimony upon Oath, Recovery of Debts, Punishment of forgers of Writings.

THe Moors have no Judicatories, or Publick Houses where they assemble about Judicial Controversies; neither have they any Mercenary Advocates, or profess'd Lawyers, but all is decided by an *Alcaddée*, who is appointed by the Supreme Ruler to be the Minister of Justice in the *Cavila*, and Town where he lives. Now every *Cavila* hath a peculiar *Alcaddée*, from whom they cannot Appeal to any other but *Alcaddé Gheber*, or the chief of these Justices, who

Who is appointed to receive such Appeals, and is in constant attendance upon the King, or chief Governor. But it is not permitted to use these Appeals, except in Causes which are supposed to be too difficult for the Decision of the Local *Alcaddées*; and when the matter is of that Importance that the Parties are unwilling to acquiesce in the solitary Sentence of one single *Alcaddée*.

These Justitiaries take no state of retirement, nor do they weary out the poor Clients with tedious Attendances, but to signify the facility of access, and their readiness to relieve and succor the Oppressed, these *Alcaddées* sit in the Gates of the City, or some open and Publick place, to hear and determine all Cases that are brought before them. And albeit that this manner of doing Justice be conformable to the Custom of the greatest and best Antiquity, as also very significative of open & clear dealing; yet the *Moor* renders another reason thereof, and that it is to avoid all Suspicion and Jealousie of corrupt Carriage in the *Alcaddée* with the Female Plaintiffs that sollicit him for Divorces.

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Every one of these Local *Alcaddées* has two Assessors, who in abstruser Pleas assist him with their Counsels: But the chief Employment of these Sidesmen, is to Copy out the Sentences of the *Alcaddée*, and to draw up all the Contracts that come to be confirm'd by him; for there is no bargain esteem'd Legal and Authentick, till it be certified under the Hand and Seal of the Topical *Alcaddée*.

The *Moors*, as all other *Mahumedans*, acknowledge the *Alcoran* to be the Immutable Rule both of Civil Justice and Religion, and therefore according to the Letter and Interpretation thereof, the *Alcaddée* frames all his Definitions and Judgements. Here's no Intreaguing the Plea with Resolutions, Cases, Presidents, Reports, Moth-eaten Statutes, &c. But every thing is determin'd according to the fresh Circumstances of the Fact, and the Proof of what is alledg'd. The Testimony of two Men, if they are of known sobriety, is sufficient to make good the Allegation; but there must be twelve to ratifie it, if their Conversation be suspected: for the
Moors

Moors believe, that amongst twelve Men as much honesty may be met with, as will equal what can be found in any two. If any *Alfaqui* or Priest be introduced to give evidence to the depending Contest, his bare Affirmative or Negative deposition is of validity to put a period to the Dispute; and the *Alcaddée* supercedes all Enquiry, when the Priest hath declared the state of the Cause. And in this, as in all other Instances, they give a Reverend Estimation to their Priests, whose Presence secures the Civil Disquisitions a great Veneration with the Many.

In taking the Testimony of a Moore upon Oath, the Servant of the *Alcaddée* carries the Deponent to the *Giamma* or *Mosch*, where in the presence of the *Alcaddée* he swears by that holy place, that he will declare all what he knowes concerning the matter, to which he is to give Evidence. But oaths are never administered to any in another man's Case, but such as are suspected Persons, and they are usually numbred among the Rogues, and faithless, who have no Credit without them; Besides it is never permitted for a man to swear in his

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own Case, but for want of Witnesſes, or when the Accuſation is of that nature, that the Impeached cannot otherwiſe Receive Purgation. As for the Chriſtian, and Jew, they are ſuffer'd to give Teſtimony according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of their own Religions, but the Mcors, are not forward to put them upon this Tryal, as doubting that fear of Punishment, ſhould tempt them to perjury; and thoſe who are thereunto acceſſory (according to the *Moreſco* Principle) are involv'd in the Guilt.

In Pleas of Debt, it is required that the Reality of the Debt be firſt manifeſt, which being done before the *Alcaddée*, he ſignifies it to the *Almocadém* of the *Caſilla* where the Debtor lives, who upon his Signification, commands a preſent payment to be made; but if the Debtor reſuſe or be unable, to give the Creditor Satisfaction, the *Almocadém* Remits him to the *Alháb's*, or Priſon (which is alwaies near the *Almocadém's* houſe) where he ſtays till bayled thence by ſufficient Sureties, or Perſonally payes the debt.

And to ſecure their Courts of Juſtice from

170 *Of VVest Barbary.*

from interfering, or clashing oue with another, the *Alcaddée* of one *Cavilla* may not intermeddle with any thing that is transacted in an other, but every one moves orderly in his own Sphere, and confines his proceedings within the Punctual Limits of his Assigned Jurisdiction. And that herein there might be no Collusion, Covin, or Imposture, every *Alcaddée* has his Privy Seal, where-with he firmes the contract, or other things that pass under his hand. And the Seal is usually engraven with the name of the *Alcaddée*, and Place of his Office. And yet notwithstanding this care to prevent, they have the Villany of forging deeds, which is done by some skill'd in the *Alcaddée's* office. But upon detection he that produces the forged Paper is immediatly imprison'd, and remaines without hope of enlargement, till he declares the Forger, and after that the *Alcaddée* puts upon him a pecuniary Mult; but he deall's much more severly with the Principal in his Forgery, who for the first Conviction receives a sharp reprehend from the *Alcaddée*, and after that the *Almo-cadém* is order'd to burn his house; but if

if he be found to repeat his offence, the Forger dyes without mercy ; which just rigor secures them from the mischiefs of counterfit writings to the prejudice of anothers Right. So that this is a Villany through the whole world condignly punished ; and by our own Laws, a second forgery of Deeds concerning anothers Land after a former Conviction, is Felony.

CHAP. XI.

The Moreſco puniſhments of Fornication, Adultery, Thievery, Retaliation, Murder, Bribery, Uſury, Alcadée's Revenue, Opinion of the Jews.

IN the *Moreſco* Catalogue of Crimes, Adultery and Fornication, are found in the firſt Comma, whoſe difference in the Moors Opinion may be collected from their Penalties. For Adultery, it

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is allways Capital, insomuch that without regard of any Eminence or Quality, the Convict thereof is certainly ston'd to Death, which is done with most notorious Circumstances. For first the day of Execution is published, then the Criminal is brought to the *Calvary*, where bury'd up to the navel in a *Mat Móra*, or a pit digged for that purpose, every one present casts one stone, and no more, at him, saying, this is for thy filthy transgression of the Law; but if the Adulterous be Persons of Condition, their Friends have Licence to dispatch them privily, to prevent the open reproach to their family.

In the punishing Fornication they are less Rigorous, as finding the mischief thereof not to be of so large a derivation, as that of Adultery. And if the Persons convict of this Unchastity are in the state of *Calibate*, they are only Chastis'd with Scourges: but if either be married, or under matrimonial contract, Death is the certain penance. But the Moors are no less solemn in whipping the Fornicator, than in Stoning the Adulterer. For on Friday, after the

the Arch-Priest has ended his Lecture, the Offender, if a man, is placed at the great door of the *Giàmma Guebèr*, or Cathedral Church, naked down to the middle, and in the presence of the Congregation receives an hundred stripes on his back from an Officer appointed for that Purpose, who has a certain number of *Blankèles* (or *Moresco* twopences,) for his Service; the Moors as they passe by the chastised, use these deprecatory words, *Allah Jfecni min had El bam*. i.e. God deliver me from this wicked fellow. The woman who hath been partner in the filthiness, suffers her punishment in the night, when she is whipt through the streets, but with more severity than the man, because the Moors suppose the Female to be of a predominant allure-ment in such unclean commixtures.

The Moors who live in a Roaving condition are much addicted to Thievery, against which the *Alcaddèe* proceeds by these steps of punishment; for the first Theft the Convict is publicly whipt in the *Alsuuck* or Market; for the second, he looseth his hand; for the third, theft he may truly be said to dye

without mercy. For the Moors observe *Caligula's* Severity in making the Offender exquisitely sensible of his death, which they inflict. Against the day of the Thief's Execution, the Youth of the Place are advertis'd to prepare their Instruments of blood, which are little dry Canes, made in the fashion of darts, accurately sharp pointed, these they hurl at the naked body of the Malefactor, till his whole skin be struck therewith full of holes, and when they find him sinking under the torture, they dragg and hang him up by the heels upon a gate, or the like, where he breaths out his last in torments, and being dead he is loathsomly exposed to the birds of prey.

In bodily injuries they observe the law of Retaliation, as an Eye for an Eye, a tooth for a tooth, &c. but it is in the power of the maimed party to Receive a pecuniary reparation, or without any satisfaction to remit the wrong; but this is not permitted til the matter hath been tryed before the *Alcaddée*, and the hurt party publicly declared, that he is willing either freely to forgive the injury, or

or to accept so much money in full Re-
paire.

And however the Municipal Laws of
some Countreys put a vast difference
between murder and man-slaughter,
as appeares in their defin'd punish-
ments, yet in *Barbary* all homicide, or
killing of a man by a man, is Capitall.

And the Moors have herein two con-
cessions. The one is to Licence the next
kindred of the slain, to take money for
his blood of him that spilt it. The o-
ther to permit the Relations of the mur-
dered to kill the murderer, without a-
ny judicial procedure, if he be not al-
ready in safe custody; which is no more
then a pursuance of that Position, Re-
venge is no sinne. Of this there happen-
ed a famous Instance, not many months
before I left *Barbary*, an account where-
of, as it was given me by my old freind
Cidi Alli Mulud Ben Ali, take as follows.

A Moor of *Targa* not far from *Tituan*
having his Brother treacherously mur-
der'd by one of the Voisinage, under-
took to pursue the fugitive murderer,
with designe to avenge his Relations
blood, and coming to *Alcazer Gheber*,

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he was inform'd that the Perſon he ſought for had ſome days before been there, and that he had put on a Pilgrims habit, with full reſolution to pay a holy journey to *Mecha*; upon which the Purſuer put on the like habit, and in proſecution of his deſign purpoſed to performe the ſame pilgrimage; but being come to *Morocco*, he overtook & lodg'd with the murderer in the Pilgrims hoſpital, where early the next morning he ſlew him; whereupon being apprehended and examin'd upon the freſh circumſtances of the fact, he produced a Certificate under the hand of the *Alcad, dée* of the place where he liv'd, that his Brother was ſlain, and that he had undertaken to avenge his death, the murderer being fled, and likewise answered them, that that was the Homicide whom he had killed, whereupon he was ſet at liberty, and the Corps left to his diſpoſal, to which giving a decent Interment, he returned home to receive the praiſes of his Gallantry.

But to return to the *Alcaddée*, whom I ſhall here only obſerve in his Revenue, and office; as to the former it is very
conſi-

considerable, for he signs not a paper without a Fee; and as to the latter, it is very honourable, and careful, for all civil affaires pass through his hands, and he dayly sits attending on all qualities of persons without varying his respect to any. If he be corrupt in his Charge, the *Alcaddée Gueber*, upon mature conviction turns him out of Office, which is his extremest penalty.

But indeed the Ministers of Justice have no opportunity to be Collusive, as being free from the great allurements of dealing falsely, for Bribery is not known amongst them. Usury which (I promised to intimate in this Chapter) is totally forbidden by their Law, for *Mahumed* hath made it an irremissable sinne, and the Userer in as bad a condition as the Divell, leaving him neither will, nor hope to be saved.

Yet notwithstanding the severity of the Law, and the supposition of this Crime, the Moors have a Custom which much favours it; for he that borrows money of another wherewith to trafique and gain, gives the lender an equal share of the Profits, and in case the

borrower lose the whole Principal; he is obliged to make it good to him that lends it, but if only part be lost, the remainder is employ'd to regain it. And it is usual with the lender to forbear the Borrower, till he perceives him fraudulent, Careless, or Unfortunate.

And because the sinne of Usury is so notorious among the Jews, the Moors believe that for it they are oppressed of God, and live Exiles from their own *Canaan*. But it is easy to observe a sort of Antipathie between these people, notwithstanding that they are conjoyned in neighbourhood, commerce, & in very many rites both civil and Religious. But the contempt is reciprocal, for if the Moor by way of Proverb say, *As deceitful as a Jew*, the Jew repayes, as *unbelieving as a Moor*. And this enmity I remarked in a *Barabár* of my Acquaintance, who observing the Jews very much frequent my lodging, he very roundly reprov'd that Conversation, and angrily told me, That the Jews were born to cheat both the Moor and the Christian, that he was assured that they were not descended of *Adam*, but that they were

were breed of the bone of a dead beast, and when he conjectured my incredulity of his ridiculous Story, by my smiling thereat, he told me in angry zeal, that he would pledge his head for the truth of his Assertion; whereupon I demanding what he conceived of those Jews who turned Moors, he answer'd, that there was such efficacy in their religion, that it made all those good who embraced it.

CHAP. XII.

The Moreſco opinion of Marriage, manner of woeing, marriage-Solemnity, carrying home the Bride, Offering wedding-feaſt.

That marriage is honorable among all men, if it were not a truth dropt from an inspired Pen, might be proved by Induction, and the œcumenical consent of all Nations, which pretend to any settled Rites in Religion or Policy. As for *Mahumed*, he had matrimony in so peculiar an estimation, that he made it the second of his eight Precepts, and enjoin'd

enjoyn'd every Subject of his Law to marry in the Vigor of his Age, making the predominant end thereof, the Propagation and maintenance of his Sect. He likewise told them that chaste celibate was impossible, and that those who pretended to live therein, were justly to be suspected for unclean conversation. And hence perhaps it comes to pass, that the Moors (who are the Puritans in Mahumetism,) are so generally observant of this commandment; for few among them are found to live out of the state of Wedlock, if they are able to purchase a wife. But many are not very prone to take all the liberty in marrying indulged them by their Prophet; for albeit he permits them plurality of wives, yet there are several families that for many ages have confin'd themselves to one: & I have met with those who abhor that filthy position father'd upon ~~Mahumed~~, *That the more they are spiritual, the more liberty and abilities they have to be carnal.*

Unto the persons that are to be married there is no conversation permitted till the Knot be tyed, so that both parties

ties take one the other upon trust, and the man perchance never sees the woman till they be brought to the bride-chamber; A custom that would be very hardly digested by the Utopians, who think it very unreasonable that a man should take a wife with less scrutiny than he doth his horse, and that he should bring one to be the perpetual partner of his life, with less information than he doth a horse to his stable, which he may part with the next day.

But the Contriver of the New *Atlantis* findes all these inconveniences avoidable by the custom of *Bensalem*: where (saith he) neare every Town there is a couple of Pooles (which they call *Adam* and *Ezes* Pooles;) in these it is permitted to one of the Friends of the man, another of the woman, to see them severally both naked. And the Moors have a custom not much differing from this of *Bensalem*, for upon the design of marriage two of the man's Female friends, who have lived long enough in wedlock to understand its *Perquisites*, are appointed to view the intended Bride, and to give the Suitor an account
of

of her bodily accomplishments, and defects, which is exactly entered in the Contract, and if any infirmity be concealed for which the husband afterward dislikes her, he may put her away; and this makes them very cautious to omit nothing in the search or report; But there is no such examination passed upon the man, because he is daily exposed to a free Censure.

If this Inquisition be pass'd with satisfaction, then they proceed to frame the Articles of Marriage, which is alwaies done by the nearest Freinds or Relations of the Parties to be contracted. And when they have finished them, they are brought to the *Alcaddée* to be confirm'd under his hand and Seal; for unless the bargain be thus ratified, the woman in case of her husband's death, or her own divorce, cannot recover the Portion that was promised her, or rather the price that was to be pay'd for her by the man; For I suppose that few are ignorant of the *Moresco* Custom of buying their wives; When the Paper containing the Bargain has passed the *Alcaddée*, it is carried to the *Alfaqui*, who
having

having perused and declared his approbation of its Contents, he bids the Man take home the Woman when he pleaseth to be his Wife; and this is all that is done by the Priest in this, according to their Estimate.

And after this short dispatch of Wooing, Contract, and Marriage, the Bride-Grooms next consultation is with his own convenience in order to fetch home his Bride: in which the warm Clime suffers him not to be tedious. But herein he is obliged to observe the appointed Times; for neither all Weeks in the Year, nor all Days in the Week, nor all hours in the Day, are free for this Solemnity. For the taking home the Bride is altogether prohibited during their *Ramadan*, or Lent: The like, Prohibition reacheth unto the Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of every Week, and on the Canonical or Regular Days, the Afternoon and Evening are the accustomed Hours. At the time when Marriage is Celebrated, they use all possible significations of Joy and Hospitality; and it is the Custom for the Friends of the Married to contribute something

to grace their Nuptials. Therefore if the Married Pair live both in the same Town, then at their set time the Bridegroom goes attended with his nearest Kindred, who coming to the Lodgings of the Bride are not suffer'd to go in, but wait at the Door till the *Negra's*, which the Husband hath bought or borrowed for that day, bring the Bride from her Chamber under a Canopy of *Albéicks*, and place her in an *Almaria*, or close Chair (much resembling a Tub) which they cover with Scarfs and Ribbons. And in this manner she is born through the Streets by Christians that are Captives, and for want of these by *Negra's*, or by a meaner sort of *Whites*. When they begin their March from the Brides House to the Bridegrooms, the Musick, Colours, and Drums pass in the first rank; next to them go some ancient Women, who have been a long space Married, all closely veil'd: immediate next after the *Almaria*, or Bride-Chair, march those who carry the Clothes and Presents of the Bride, which have been made her by her Friends, who follow immediatly after in a regular disposition:

tion. When they are come to the Bridegrooms, the Chair being lighted, the *Negra's* take out the Bride, and under a Canopy of *Albeicks* conduct her to her Apartment, where she is received by some aged Matrons, who instruct her in the important Offices of a good Wife, and the rules of that Relation, but they are wary of betraying any discouraging Severity, and therefore intermit their Documents by tasting the good Cheer provided for their Entertainment. While the Bride is thus caressing the Matrons, and receiving their Maternal Councils, the Bridegroom entertains his Comrades, Feasting them with the best *Cuscussone*, and brisk Wines, if their over scrupulousness debar them not the cheerfulness of that Beverage. But the Bridegroom is not licensed for that time to drink freely of any strong Liquor, for Reasons not worth the mentioning.

In the interim of this Entertainment, the Batchellors make a kinde of Offering to their Wedded Companion; in which they observe this Method: The Bridegroom placeth himself upon a little

the low Seat, behind him stand two *Negro's* bending his Head moderately back; then come the Batchelors, who cover the Bridegrooms Fore-head and Brow with *Metacales* (or single Coins of Gold) and *Blankéles*, according to their Affection and Ability: and as they lay them on, the *Negro's* stroke them off into a Basin set for that purpose in the Bridegrooms Lap, who all the while shuts his Eyes. The *Negro's* likewise call every one by name who Offer, saying *Fulano* (or such an one) lays on so much, God enlarge his Life and Riches. And this continues till all the Batchelors have been at the *Corban*. About eight of the Clock the Company breaks up, with resolution to reassemble the next Morn; and when they are gone, the Bridegroom visits the Bride, whom he undresses with his own Hands, first taking off her Ornaments, then untying her Drawers, and in every point prepares her for his Bed; none being admitted to assist, or to be present at this Office. And this they say he doth, in signification that she is wholly and only at his disposal.

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Some *Conocido's*, or intimate Associates of the Bridegroom, stay behind the rest of the Company to congratulate the first Pleasures of his Marriage. For about Mid-night he leaves his Bride to manifest unto his select Companions the evidences of her Virginity, by Traditional Arguments authentick with the *Moors*. This good News they all celebrate with increase of Jollity; and now they venture to warm the Bridegroom with his own Fires, and endeavour to return him to his Bride crown'd with his own Vine. But if she yield not these Testimonies of Virginity, it is in his power to put her to death, or otherwise to dispose of her as he pleaseth. For they esteem that the most unpardonable sort of Cozenage, which takes a Mans self and his Money for that which is impossible to be made good. And those Women are accounted egregiously impudent, who conscious of their own Failures dare put themselves upon this adventure.

But if for this Injury he returns her to her Friends, she meets with that rigour at their hands, which she might

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easilier

easier have undergone from her Husband; for all her Cozens think themselves dishonored in the Debauchery of their Kins-woman, which they imagine cannot be expiated but either by death, or some more durable Purgatory. And by reason of this just Severity, the *Moresco* Damfels are very cautious of their Behaviour, and scarce in half an Age hath any one been convict of this Delinquency; however, the Man is circumspect not to omit the Ordeal.

When the Bridegroom and Bride have refreshed themselves apart with their choice Companions, all are dismiss till the next day; when the Festival is reassumed, and lasts a considerable time; the Wedding Feast of the poorest continuing a Week. And for this time the new Married Man has a priviledge to be absent from the *Mosch* without fear of mulct. Some Grandees are not seen abroad, from the day of their Wedding till they can shew the Pledge thereof in their Arms. But these are bound to have a Dispensation from the *Alfachi* for their absence from the *Mosch*, and to observe the Times of Prayer in their Chambers.

CHAP.

prized that profess not *Mahumatism*) to be an unexorable uncleanness. As for Polygamy it is looked upon as a Divine Institute, and when any object against it, the Moors vindicate it by the frequent examples and universal customs thereof, in the Patriarchs and worthies of the Hebrew world. And I could meet with none who asserted Plurality of wives upon politick considerations, as that it was convenient for the propagation of the Empire, encrease of people, and enlargement of their Religion: but that it proceeded from God, was used by the Holiest of his Servants, and the oeconomy of the Old Law.

When the inconvenience of these Pluralitie is objected, and that their Oeconomy cannot but be much disorder'd by reason of the inquietudes, and strifes that will inevitably arise among so many female corrivals for one man's affection; they tell you that this is a disease whose remedy is of a very easy procurement, by reason of that absolute Dominion, which the husband hath over his wives, whom, if they prove disagreeing, he confines to their several apartments, with-

out

out allowing them any further conversation among themselves, then that their society at meales affords them. And if this will not cure the unpeaceable humour, then Divorce proves an infallible Receipt; of which give me leave to give this brieve account.

When the woman findes herself aggrieved by her husband, or any of her fellow-wives, her only reparation and succour is to seek a divorce. And in this case she has liberty to address her self to the *Alcaddee*, who has the sole power of dissolving, as well as of tying, the knot of matrimony. And when the woman has declared her condition, and spread before the *Alcaddee* the reasons upon which she grounds her desire of Divorce, the *Alcaddee* presently sends for the husband, & examines him concerning the verity of the complaint brought against him by his wife, if he deny it, then the matter is decided by the voice of the Neighbours, but if the husband have a willingness to be quit of his wife, then he needs but confess that whereof he is accused, and the *Alcaddee* teares in pieces the Bill of their marriage which he had Confirm'd,

declares the Marriage void, and certifies the Divorce under his Seal; and from hence forward they are both at liberty for new nuptials. From which the woman is bound to abstain till it be apparent that she is not impregnate by her last husband, who is still obliged, to provide for the issue that she shall bring into the world five months after the Divorce. But if she cannot tarry so long, then the *Alcabla*, or Midwife, has her in Examination, who is bound to return a just & true report upon pain of being stoned to death. The Moors call the Divorce and widdows by the same word, and enjoin them the same Laws of second marriage.

The chief causes of Divorce on the womans part or either disquiet and forward carriage to the Family, especially when she will not live in amicable society with the Sharers of the same Bed: or when she is unpleasing to her conjugal embraces, or when she will not indure his familiarity with his women slaves. But if she be found guilty of adultery, the injurie is too great for Divorce to repair and in this Case she is solely left to
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the pleasure of her husband, who has Absolute power both to be her Judge and Executioner. And albeit the Moors are not sparing in the revenge of their kinreds death, yet they applaud the husband who kills their kinswomen, whom he has certainly found treacherous to his Bed.

The occasions of Divorce on the husbands side are his refusal of paying his wife marital Due; or, some other sort of unkind deportment. But after all the wives complaints, the husband is at liberty to retain or put her away; and he may at any time divorce his wife in case he will make good the marriage Contract.

It is usually said, that the wives seek for Divorce when their husbands deal unnaturally with them; and albeit this is said to be done with a great deal of modesty, the crime being signified by the turning up of a Shoe, yet in *Barbary* examples of this kind are very unusual, for the Moors abhorre the villany, believing that it is not in man's Nature to be so preposterous; and that it was at first the malicious invention of
some

some vile and impudent Strumper.

The Children which are begot before Divorce, follow not the woman, but are left to the husbands charge. And it is observable that the *Moresco* women seldom prove unfruitful, for in a town of above twelve hundred married women, it was reckon'd for a great rarity that there was one dyed barren. But the wife, different from the Jewish custom, suffers no dishonour for her Sterility, and if the husband takes a second wife who proves also childless, the husband beares the imputation. *Mahumed* in the fourth Chap. of his *Alcoran* adviseth the husband whose wife is barren, to swear by her belly, and asserts it a means to make her Conceive. A devotion which as I have been told is still in use among the *Alárbes*, but quite worne out of fashion with the other Moors.

In the nursing of Children the mother abhors that unnatural pride of suckling them with other breasts, while her own are sufficient for that affectionate service. And to shew that there is something more than common kindness in this particular, the Empress her self is obliged

obliged for the first seven days to give her child suck.

And now before I dismiss this remark, I cannot but acquaint you with all the material ceremonies, of the second, third, and fourth marriages. Every former wife upon the introduction of another, lives seven days deprived of all manner of society with her husband, who for that time devotes himself entirely to his last Bride; whom on the seventh day after marriage he solemnly brings into the acquaintance and fellowship of his other wives, whose brows the last married is bound to kiss, and tells them that they are not to be angry that their Holy Law hath entitled her to a share in his affection as large as any of theirs. The husband likewise exhorts them all to reciprocal kindneses, assuring them that without fraud, or any partiality, he intends to divide himself among them.

Now that which seemes most nearly to concern the wives, and proves the greatest and most incentive of their wrath is their husbands liberry of taking as many Concubines as he lists; which for
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the most part are Blacks, the Moors doting much on that Spanish saying *la Negra tiene, turmentina en ella*. But those that keep Concubine slaves, are not permitted to associate with them in the night, and if any of them bear, their Patrons Children, she thereupon receives her liberty, and the Child is co-heir with those begot in Wedlock.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Moreisco admission of Renegados, Circumcision, Imposition of Names, Sur-names.

EVERY Religion have had still some Rites appropriated to the admission of such as undertook its profession; and by which they were characterized and distinguished. Concerning this the Author of *Mahumatism* was much distracted, not knowing what inaugurating ceremony to Ordain. His two assessors *Sergius* the Monk, and *Abdalla* the Jew, divided him with their opinions, while each pleaded for the character of his
forsa-

forsaken Faith. But the wary Impostor
 (labouring to keep up the credit of his
 pretensions, in being sent, to be the re-
 conciler of the Jewish and Christian Re-
 ligion, and to compose a Law compre-
 hending both) to comply with *Sergius*,
 who stood stily for Baptism, he or-
 dain'd daily washings to all those who be-
 came *Mahumetans*, & ascribed thereunto
 no less efficacy than the cleansing of the
 Soule. And that he might not disgust
Abdalla the Jew, he made Circumcision
 admmissive of Profelytes into his Law. But
 did not institute it under any notion of
 absolute Necessity, and indispensibly re-
 quired of all who undertook the Profes-
 sion of his Religion, but made the want
 of it no impediment of future happiness.
 And therefore in the admittance of a Re-
 negado, or the denyer of his first Reli-
 gion, circumcision is not exacted of the
 Moors, for feare that the undergoing
 of such a painful Sacrament should de-
 ter the Profelyte. But when any desires
 to be of their perswasion, they carry the
 new *Musulman* on horseback, in a kinde of
 triumph through the streets, & proclaims
 that such an one being turn'd Moor,
 desires

desires the assistance of their Prayers that he may not Apostatise.

But their male children are initiated by circumcision, and because the child may die before it can be circumcised, therefore the lack of this Write in such a case is concluded to be no hindrance of its enjoyment of Paradise. When the child is seven days old, the Moors give it a name, and the Father of it makes a feast. But the imposition of the Name is done in the publick assembly; for the Father at the evening-Sallah carries to the Church several dishes of Cuscussow, of which he sets one apart for the Priest, and the rest to be eaten up by the people. And when the Prayers are ended, the congregation demand of the Father what he will call his Child, and if the Name he gives it be not satisfactory to the People, they decide it by lots what he shall be called, for every man here has a Vote in the Nameing of his Neighbour's Child. And when they have agreed the point, all pray that the child may Live, prove Rich and Valiant, and understand the *Alcoran*; then they eat up the Cuscussow and depart. It is observable

servable that the Priest neither at the Nameing, nor circumcision of the child has any appropriate office, of which I could finde no other reason, unless the Moors estimate of these Ceremonies, which they never reckon among the essentials of Religion.

- There are some who have asserted, that there is an inevitable time of circumcision among all the Mahumetans; But if they had lived in *Barbary*, they might have lessen'd the proposition, for the Moors circumcise their children when they please, being by Law not bound up to any particular day or hour. But it is generally grown into fashion, to circumcise at the Animadversary Feast called *Mulud*, kept in December in memory of *Muley Mahumed*. And few or none defer the circumcision of their Males at the first *Mulud* after their nativity. Now there is no person set apart for this office, but the child is circumcised by any that has a gentle and nimble hand, to whom the parent gives a bountiful reward.

When the Sonnes arrive to a due maturity, they are disposed of to Vocations,
among

among which the Sword is reckon'd the most honourable, as a Priviledge of Primogeniture belongs to the first born. The rest betake themselves to such Callings as best agree with their inclinations and Fathers fortunes. Many of the wealthier sort put their Sonnes to to be *Talbyes*, that in case they be reduced to want, they be in capacity to be received unto the Priesthood and be maintain'd by the Church.

The Moors have no surnames, which want they supply by adding to the Child's name, either the name of some remarkable time when it chanced to be born, as the *Ramadan*, *Mulud*, *Ashora*, and the like; or the name of the Father by prefixing *Ben*, as *Hader Ben Abdalla*: being the same with *Thomas Fits Williams*, &c. and the higher they derive the pedegree by reckoning up their Ancestors, it is accounted the most honourable. And in this they follow the ancient custom, for to add to a man's proper name, the proper name of his Father by putting [Son] before it, was of old in stead of that, which we now call surnames: and in some parts
this

this is not yet worn quite out of use. Whether the names now given by the Moors, are significative of any Virtues desired or foretold by those that impose them, to be in the Children, hath not yet fal'n under my comprehension.

Curiosity tempting me in pursuance of this Note, to enquire into their child-births; I found that therein they observed a decency conformable to the best civilized People. For the pregnant Wife perceiving the approach of her pangs, call's for the *Alcabla*, or Mother, the same with our Midwife, to assist her travailes, who never leaves her till the seventh day after her delivery, for so long she keeps her bed, and tarries forty dayes before she associates with her husband. Who if he be scrupulous will not embrace his Wife from the time she appeares impregnate, till the last minute of the forty days after her delivery be accomplished.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

*Of the Moreſco Funeral Rites,
Testaments, Mourning for the
Dead, Eſteem of Interment,
Sepulchres, Places of Burial,
&c.*

THe *Moors* are very careful that nothing be wanting or disorderly in the Rites of Burial, wherein the ſurviving Relations ſignifie great Sentiments of humanity and affection toward the deceased: whom when they underſtand that they are ſick, they delay not to viſit, on purpoſe to admoniſh them of their Faults, and to exhort them to look forward to the great Pleaſures of Paradife. The Prieſt never omits this good Office of aſſiſting the ſick; and I have been told, that there are certain *Azaora's* or parcels of the *Alcoran*, appointed to be read on this occaſion to the Infirm, who if he die not while thoſe *Azaora's* are thrice read over, it is an *Omen* of his Re-

Recovery ; but if the Agony be observed to increase in the time of Reading, they conclude that the Patient will not escape : which when the sick Man observes, and sees that in all probability his Distemper will terminate in Death, he begins an exact disposal of his Estate, whereof in the first place some part is bequeath'd to the Parochial Church where he lives, and some small Legacies to the *Alfachi* and *Almudén*, and the rest he leaves to be divided by the *Alcaddée* among his Wives and Children : in which Distribution, a Son hath twice as much as a Daughter, and the Wives can claim no more then is set down in their Contract of Marriage.

In signification of their love to the Dead, the near Kinred of both Sexes use Tokens very expressive of Sorrow : the Men testifie their Grievs by putting on their courser *Albeicks*, and not wearing any thing that is very white about them, which at other times is a chief part of their bravery : for they account white to be no less a token of chearfulness then Innocency, and therefore account the wearing thereof very improper

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for

204 *Of West Barbary.*

for such sorrowful occasions. The Men likewise (that are of near Alliance to the Dead) cut not their Beards, but declare their pensiveness; they suffer a great neglect in all those Accoutrements, in which at other times they are very curious; and by a peculiar Fanisie they have some Hairs hanging over their Eyes in token of a careless Sorrow. But this is done chiefly for such as come to untimely ends.

The Women are very loud and dolorous in their Lamentations of the departed, and they intermit not to howl over the Corps while it is in the House, which is not long, for as soon as the Breath is expired, the dead Body is washt with Sope and warm Water, by those of the same Sex with the departed. Then the Body is wrapt in white Linnen and laid in a Coffin (though a Coffin is but the lot of a few) on the right side, with the Face toward *Mecha*, in which posture it is also buried. When the Corps is carryed out to Burial, the Priest goes next unto it, who coming to the Grave or Sepulchre, prays that the Sins of the Defunct may be remitted, and that

that he may have a Portion in the promised Delights. Returning home from the Buryal, they have a Feast to comfort those of the Family who are not permitted to dress any thing while the Corps are in the House : and this consolatory Feast is great or small, according to the condition of the Dead.

They account it a great unhappiness for one of their Faith to want a decent Interment ; and therefore if any dye without an Estate sufficient to discharge his Funeral Expences, they supply it by a Neighborly Contribution. Those that are more Wealthy and Honorable have Sepulchres, which vary both in Materials and Fashion : For some are built of rough Stone, others of course Marble, but the most of Brick : Some in form of a half Moon, others open upon Pillars ; and some round and close, and to be enter'd by a Door. But the Vulgar lye in common Graves, cover'd with green Turf and Boughs. At the Feet and Head of those that are thus Buryed, they fix large Stones, in which are writ the Name of the Interr'd, with the Year of his Age and *Hegira*. As for Epitaphs, they

they are quite worn out of request, yet they were in great estimation of old, as may be gather'd from that Collection which *John Leo* made thereof, and presented it to a Brother of a King of *Fex*.

Upon every Friday the Women repair to the Graves of their deceased Friends, whose deaths they bewail with a very loud and bitter Lamentation, recounting the great Satisfaction and Pleasure which they once enjoy'd in their Society. And because they believe that on every Friday the Soul returns to the Body, they spread the Graves with sweet Flowers and green Boughs on purpose to refresh it, and to adorn the Grave. But there are some *Moors* which hold this Rite for a Mystery in their Religion, and therefore pretend not to give any account of its usage. They have one thing in Buryal, observed no where else, which is not to bury another in the same Grave where one has been Interr'd before, and therefore they use certain Marks to secure them from mistakes.

It has been often told me, That the *Morefco* Women in their Weekly La-
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mentations of the dead, use to ask them what reason they had to dye, seeing that they enjoyed loving Friends, wanting none of the Comforts of this Life, &c. But I found this was an idle Story, and a Moor assured me that they had no such Custom, and that it could be the Calumny of none but a deceitful Jew.

Neither is that other Story of more credit, which makes the *Moors* reserve a vacant Place in the Grave, to give the dead Carcass room to rise up and kneel before two pretty Angels, who come to confess the *Departed* concerning the great Points of the Law; namely, paying of Tythes, giving of Alms, and observing of *Rámadon*: for upon mature Enquiry, I was assur'd that the *Moors* had no such Article in their Creed.

The places of Burial that belong to great Towns, are in the Fields: but in the Country they are generally by the High-ways, which may be to put Passengers in mind of their Mortality. The Ground which is set apart for this Imployment, is usually the Donative of some devout Person, or purchased with Legacies bequeath'd for that purpose.

And that there might be no fraud practised in this Particular, both *Alfachi* and *Alcaddee* keep Registers of all such Donations, which are transmitted to Posterity. When the Ground is once devoted to this service, the *Moors* call it *Blessed* and *Holy*, and accounted its alienation an unpardonable Wickedness. Neither the Christians, nor any of another Religion, are permitted to tread within these Burial Places, unless they be their Slaves, whom they admit to any thing capable of service, and use as solely as their Dogs. These Slaves always wait upon the Women to the Sepulchres, but for no other intent then to carry their Flowers and Boughs, and to assist them therewith to dress the Graves.

There is no *Aldéa* or Village that has a Church, but it hath also a peculiar Burying Place, given or bought as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Moresco Ramadán, its institution, moveableness, manner of Celebration.

SOME have imagin'd that for twelve Years after the promulgation of the *Mahumetan* Law, the Sectaries thereof kept the same Fasts with the Jews: but *Mahuméd* being displeas'd with that refractory People, and scorning to borrow any of their Institutions, commanded his Profelytes to abandon their Fasts, and appointed in their room the Moon *Ramadán*, to be kept in an *Anniversary Abstinence*. But others date this Lent from the second Year of *Mahumeds* Prophecie, and that it fell out in the Month *September*, at which time the *Alcoran* is said to have been sent from Heaven. But it is not likely that the Fast was in memory thereof, because so great a Blessing (in the *Mahumedans* Estimation) deserved to be kept in mind by a far different Memorial, great Mercies having

never been Celebrated with Penances and Corporeal Humiliations, but rather with Festival Expressions of Joy, and Actions significative of Exaltation.

The *Ramadan* is moveable, and depends on the appearance of the New Moon, which, if through the Cloudiness of the Weather they cannot discern, they tarry till it may be presumed by the course of Nature that it is Changed. And those who are less Learned in the *Lunar* Mutations, continue the Fast for thirty days, being assured that in that Period the Moon must fulfil her course.

A Winter *Ramadan* is very welcome to the *Moors*, because their Labors are not then so pressive, and better then to be endured, by reason of the coldness of the Season: and the Fast is not so afflictive, because the Days are short, and the Nights long to Revel in.

Though this be the severest Precept in the *Mahumedan* Law, yet it is not without all capacities of Indulgence, for therein is had special Regard to the wayfaring and infirm, who have Licence to eat in the day time, with this Caution,

That

That at the end of their Journey, and upon their recovery from Sickness, they perform the full account of their Lent. As for the rest, they are enjoined no more then a diurnal Abstinence, having the Night at liberty for all Feutions they can procure, Wine only excepted, which by those who at other times liberally drink it, is for this Moon totally renounced. The breach of this Fast they punish with Striving to death, and there is no necessity can Priviledge any (except Travellers and infirm Persons) not eat or drink till the Evening Star witnesseth that the Day is shut in. They make great Provision for this *Ramadan*, wherewith they furnish out their Nocturnal Festivals; and for this end, use a great Frugality before for some days.

They place a great Sanctity in this Fast, which yet to a Scrupulist scarce would seem to deserve that name, for the Day is usually past away in a loytering Sleepiness, and the Night in Junketing: The one is at best but a drowzy Lent, and the other a Luxurious Carnival. Yet there is a devouter sort of *Bygots*, who spend the

the Day in the Church and Devotion, and are very reserved in their Nightly Careſſes, living for the whole Moon ſeperate from Women, where they ſupererogate, their Law no where exacting this Severity: for ſuch was the Carnal Temper of their Prophet, that he thought it an Impoſſibility to live a whole day Continent. Both Sexes are bound to begin this Faſt at the twelfth Year of their Age, and it is placed among the Articles neceſſarily requiſite to the Conſtitution of a perfect *Mahumetan*.

The laſt day of the Moon, the *Moors* ſpend in doleful Lamentations of their deceased Relations, and with their Yearly Commemoratives end the Faſt.

CHAP. XVII.

The Moreſco Feaſts.

AT the end of their Lent, *Mahumed* inſtituted a Feſtival Solemnity, as hath been imagined in imitation of the Chriſtians *Eſter*. The *Turks* call it
Bairam

Bairam; the *Moors*, *El Ed Geer*, or the Little Feast: Little, not in respect of its duration, but Expence; for it lasts three days, which equals it in length with any of the rest.

On the first day thereof they spread the Floor of their *Giámma's* with coloured Leather, and then entertain each other with Honey, sweet Butter, and Wafers. And according to the performance of this Festival, they Divine, as the *Egyptians* by their *Nilescope*, the Blessings and Plenty of the descending Year.

About two Monerhs after, the *Moors* have another Festival, by them called, *El Ed Guer*, or the Great Feast, in respect of the Expences and Charges thereof. This Festival still commenceth with a Sermon, which the *Alcalib* or chief Priest makes concerning its Institution, with amplification of its Praises. Returning home from the Sermon, the *Moors* fall to killing such Sheep as they have made choice of for their Entertainment at this Solemnity, and there is not the meanest Fortune, but now has his Sheep which is killed, by cutting the
Throat

Throat thereof, with their Faces towards *Mechu*, and Swearing by *Alquiblá*. This done, every Family takes the Heart and Appurtenances, and immediately dress it with Saffron, red and black Pepper; then, with store of Bread, they bring it to their Parish Church (where every Quality knows his station) and eat it in Communion. Returning from this Ecclesiastick Ordinary, they pass the second and third Day in Eating and Drinking. This is also called the *Mutton Feast*.

The next to this is their *Ashorab*, which lasts but one Day, and call'd a Feast of Fruits, nothing being then eaten but Dates, Figs, parched Corn, and all such natural Cates as their Substances can procure. This Festival is not held in *Giámma*'s, but every Father of a Family treats his Household under his own Roof. And the rich on this day give a Portion of their Estates to the Poor, who on the Morning of the Festival go from one *Giámma* to another, and receive the Yearly Alms, which are proportionably divided amongst them. None cast into this Treasury who have not a certain

certain sum of Money in Possession ; and he that has less then ten *Metacáles* (which something exceeds our Five shilling Pieces) is exempt from this *Corban*.

At the receipt of these Alms, the Poor pray that God would increase the Givers store, and enable them to bestow more the next *Ashoráb*, telling them, That this fulfilling of the Law, is the best assurance of rendring their Petitions successful.

Anseráb is another *Morefco* Festival, which lasts but a day ; and with the *Andaluzian Moors* bears the Name of Saint *John Baptisi's*, or the Feast of the Christians. On this Festival, those who live within ten Leagues of the Sea come thither to wash themselves ; and those who cannot, by reason of distance, repair to that great Monopoly of Waters, take Salt and throw it into the Fountains at home, and Bath themselves in that counterfeited Ocean. This is exactly at Midsummer, and held in Commemoration of that great Blessing of Water. The Viands of this Feast exceed not their ordinary Provisions, only they eat them with greater alacrity.

Mulud

Mulud is the Yearly Feast for Circumcision, and continueth three days; on the first whereof, they make a *Gátcha*, or Hodge-podge of Flower, Water, Butter and Honey, and carry great quantities thereof to the Church, whither they invite one another, saying, *Come, let us go to the Allamcillah, or to the Feast that is made to Mahumed for Gods sake*: And when they have eaten of this homely Dish in the Church, they leave store thereof to be devoured by the Poor, and spend the two following days in good Neighborhood and plentiful Collations. This is their chiefest Feast, because at it their Males are Circumcised, and may seem to have a reference to the old *Whitsuntide* among the Christians. But I forbear to swell these Remarks with such Conjectural References, which if I should enterprize, I might make all *Mabumed*s Institutions yield some probable Resemblances of those ancient Customs & Ordinances in usage among Jews and Christians; and shew, that this great Deceiver has confused both the Testaments into his *Alcoran*, laboring thereby to have his first Pretensions

ons made creditable, That he came to reconcile Jew and Christian unto the obedience of one and the same Law.

These *Moresco* Festivals seem not so much Commemorative of received Mercies, as relaxatives of Corporeal Labors, from which they are observed to have no other Divertisements. For Cards and Dice are utterly abhorr'd by the better Families, not only as forbidden by the Law, under the Infamous terms of Diabolical Inventions, but as observed to be occasions of many nocive Passions, engendring Debates, and Incentives to Avarice: Besides, they are look'd upon as Effeminate and Trivial Entertainments, fit onely for Sea-men, and Women; the former being much vers'd in this Idleness, though no such Aspersions can be cast on the latter.

Of the Moresco Pastimes, Music, Dancing, &c.

WHEN the *Moresco* Gentry are disposed to Sports, the Wild Boar fits them with a Manly Exercise, and affords them both Pastime and Improvement; and when in the failure of some Circumstance they are debarr'd this kind of Recreation, they supply it with their Lances in Lufury Skirmishes on Horseback, wherein their Dexterity cannot be too much admired.

But they are naturally un inclin'd to Sports, being very Saturnine, and loving the Extremes, either to sit still, or to be in robustious Morions. They spend much of their Time in a sort of drowzy Conference, but the sum of their Domestick Entertainments, are their Women and their Chess-boards: All communicating in the former, but the latter is only the serious Pastime of the *Vir-tuosos*.

They

They use Vocal and Instrumental Musick, but in both are very serious and plain, devoid of Levity or Flourish. Their usual Instruments are the *Rabèb* and *Ablud*; the former resembles our Violin, but strung only with one great Cord of Hair; the other a Getar. In *Fex* they have Lutes, and those who will teach them well. The *Alárbs* have an Instrument call'd *Zauphèn*, like the bottom of a Kettle, on which they Tinkle with a stick. The *Tituanexes* have a less Organ, and also use a sort of Tabor and Pipe when they march in the Field. So most Towns have their peculiar sorts of Musick. The singing part is perform'd by *Negra's*, not for any peculiar Excellency they are happy in, but because singing at publick Dances is look'd upon as Slavish.

In their Dances they permit no mixture of Men with the married Women, which is granted to the Virgins, who upon some Solemnities Dance with the Batchelors; but so closely Veild, that not any part about them is seen naked. They act the Tune with their Hands and Head, and abhor as loose and lascivious,

P

Jigs,

Jigs, or high Dancing. Every Town and *Cavilla* have their own Dances, which are known by several Names. The *Fefians* have a Dance called *Eftitati*, which is used in *Sally*, *Mekenèz*, *Alcazar*, &c. Those of the City of *Morocco* have one named *Sholakebèr*; and in the *Cavilla*'s of *Minchèl*, *Bemi-Wadres*, &c. there is a Dance stiled *Ismmaháb*. It seldom happens that those of one Town know the Dances of another, therefore those who use this Divertisement, only know the Name and Mode of the Dance where they live.

Their set Times are their Weddings and Yearly Festivals, the Married dancing on the Day, the Single in the Night.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Miscellaneous Chapter of the temper of the Air, Diseases, Medicine, Poysons, Education of Children, Apparel, &c.

BEfore I shut up these Tumultuary Remarks, I cannot but adde some Mis-

Miscellaneous Notes, occasionally collected from Discourse and Observation, of whose Credit I have not many Arguments to render me dubious. The first Notice concerns the Temperature of the Air in this Part of *Barbary*, wherein there is some Variation according to the Site of the Places. At *Fez*, the Air in Summer is more temperate than at *Morocco*. The Inhabitants of the latter for several Hours cannot endure the Heat abroad, and therefore for that time keep close within: But the People of the former are by no such Excess constrain'd to intermit their Labours. Albeit, as I have observed in other Countrys, much herein is to be imputed to Humor and Custom.

The Inland Country is hotter in Summer, and colder in Winter than the Maritime, which may easily be conceived, by considering what Neighborhood the one hath with the Sea, the other with the Mountains, which from *December* to the latter end of *February* are covered with Snow; at the Resolution of which, such Rivers are caused, that in some places the Channels will yield

Water the whole Summer ensuing.

The Inhabitants live long, and are generally Healthy; the Diseases, when they happen, are Fluxes, after the Season of Fruits; and Calentures, when they immoderately Travel in the Sun. And what seems herein remarkable, the Winter (which Season consist of great Rains) is most mortal amongst them.

The *Lues Venerea*, or Foul Disease (which the *Moors* call *Bubès*) is incident to those who accompany with variety of Women: and though this may seem to confine that Distemper to those *Moors*, who live after a more rude and roving manner, yet it is no stranger to those of a more refin'd and settled Life, the Grandees of late having herein exceeded the Paisants.

As to the Plague, they observe no set time of its return, the tenth and fifteenth Year of its coming being worn out of Remarks; and in this last Century it has hapned very seldom, but in no parts it doth rage more furiously then in *Barbary*: and when they are visited, the Inhabitants take little or no care to avoid it, holding it to be inevitable.

In

In cure of Sicknesſes, they uſe very plain Medicines, and whatever be the Diſeaſe, Cauterizing is firſt practiſed, which they do with no more Art or Curioſity, then with a Knife red hot to gash and cut the place where the Pain lies. To cure the Head-ach, they take the Root *Taux Argent* and Roſemary, burning them in an Earthen Pot, over which the Diſeaſed holds his Head for the Fume; then binding the ſame in a Cloth about the Head, preſent eaſe is given. This *Taux Argent* is a Root, much Celebrated for an excellent and laſting Perfume: there is great ſtore thereof about *Sally*, which is white within, without duſkiſh and ſtreaked. The *Moors* uſe it in Airing and Perfuming their Rooms, but the ſcent is much leſs durable then has been reported.

The People, when ſick, cure themſelves with Herbs, in whoſe Virtues the common People have a traditional knowledge. By this they ſupply the want of Apothecaries and Phyſitians, of which Profeſſion none are found, except a few Mountebank ignorant Jews.

The *Moors* have an Herb called *la Halis*,

lis, which mingled with Honey, they make up into Balls as big as Pistol Bullets, and of these they swallow five or six at a time, which they find to procure Appetite, further Digestion, and to make Frolick, Amorous and Witty. *Opium* is much used by all sorts, rather for Dyet then Physick; and a Moor will sooner buy a Pill of *Opium*, then a Cake of Bread, if his stock be too little to buy both. And in many places they are so accustomed to this Stupefactive, that the want thereof proves fatal.

In former Times the People were so exquisite in mingling Poysons, that they had some would kill by smell: Of late they are acquainted only with two kinds, which they call *Rahásh* and *Zehim*. The former is either white or pale, and more quick in dispatching the Person who takes it. But *Zehim* (signifying any thing that is contrary to the Palat or liking) is cured with incessant Spitting. As for that Poyson which once they had the Art to communicate in Letters, to kill those who read them, they are thereof at present totally Ignorant.

Muley

Muley Mahumed having out of Politick Ends prohibited Printing, made thereby Writing of a more singular use and esteem; and the *Moors* of old were noted to be very excellent at the Pen, but now in this, as in all other Learning, they are much deficient of what they were formerly, for there are not many that arrive to a higher Proficiency in Letters, then barely to Write and Read: To which end they have little Schools, where the Children are taught after this manner. The *Moors* having (as I said) no Printed Books, when their Children are sent to School, they take with them pieces of Boards, or Slats, on which the School-Master writes so many Letters of the Alphabet; and when the Child has learn'd their Names and Figures, the Master writes them a certain number more, and so proceeds till the Alphabet be ended: and then goes on to write some Periods of the *Alcoran* (for they teach no other Book) and continue this Method till the whole *Alcoran* be wrote over, which usually lasts four Years. When the Child has thus spelt it over, he begins to get it by heart, which costs

eight Years at the least ; then the Child, if his Father be able, is taught a little Orthography. When the Child is come to certain Periods of the *Alcoran*, the Father is obliged to make him a Congratulatory Present: and when he has learn'd the whole *Alcoran*, he is brought home to his Fathers House in Procession on Horse-back. As he Rides along, he holds a Table written with *Mahumeds* Law, whereon he continually fixeth his Eye, thereby signifying, That the Honor conferr'd upon him was for the careful Reading of the *Alcoran* ; and when the Youth, accompanied with the *Alfaqûi*, School-master, and School-fellows, hath visited all the Churches, they come to his Fathers House, where they are entertain'd, and the Master rewarded for the care shewn in the Proficiency of his Scholar.

F I N I S.

An Index of the Moorish Words.

A Ba Henen. ابو حنين	138
Abdalla, Abdel. عبد الله	3, 8, 7.
Abdalla ben Boucar. f. عبد الله بن بكر	38.
Abdalla ebn Mohammed ebn Abebecar.	
عبد الله بن محمد بن ابي بكر	121
Abdel Crim Nacfis. عبد الله الكريم	37
Abdel Hader Alfiftoah. عبد الحاضر	
السبتي	64
Muley Adolmelek. مولى عبد الملك	16
Mahumed Acadim. محمد الخادم	41
Alarb. العرب	20
Ahlud. الغون	
Almocadem Ali. المقدم علي	62
Ali ben Hamet. علي بن احمد	26
Ali Gaylan. علي غيلان	30
Cidi Ali Mulud ben Ali: سيدى علي	
مولود بن علي	175
Alla, Alla. الله	4
Allah	

The Index of the

<i>Allah Mahmiq;</i> الله المحمى	117
<i>Allah iffecni min had elham. f.</i>	
الله انفقني من يد العام	173
<i>Amadorac, Amarodoch.</i> المدرسة	138
<i>Amet Zerif.</i> احمد شريف	5
<i>Angera. Leo Afer. p.161.</i>	34.
<i>Arras. Leo Afer. p.229.</i>	39
<i>Alarbe Asfa.</i> الرابع عشا	147
<i>Ashorah.</i> عاشورا	78
B.	
<i>Bar</i> بر	76
<i>Barabars, Brebers.</i> بربر	133, 30.
<i>Beregenas.</i> بان فجان	91
<i>Bensallah.</i> ابن صالح	52
<i>Bismillah.</i> بسم الله	116
<i>Boferes.</i> ابو فارس	7
<i>Muleh Boucar. f.</i> مولي بكر	21
<i>Cidi Mahumed ben el Hadge ben Boucar.</i>	
سيدي محمد بن الحاجي بن بكر	22
<i>Alcadee.</i> القاضي	55
<i>Almocadem Casum.</i> المقدم قاسم	62
<i>Alcaroh</i>	

Moorish Words.

Alcatib. الخطيب 155

Alcarobe. الخروب 78

Cavila. قبيلة 22

Alcazar. القصر 27

Alcazar Ezzaguer, القصر الصغير 42

Ceuta. سبتة 42

Cidi. سيدى 112

Cuscussom, Enscussom. كسكس 130, 145.

D

Al Dea الدية 63

Dillan f. لل 132

Dulhevil ذوالجة 141

E

Era hanig allah للارحمتك الله 117

Erif. Leo 162. 39

F

Al Faqui الفقيه 1

Fez فاس 29

Cidi

An Index of the

G

Cjdi Al Hader ben Ali Gaylan.

سیدی الحضرة بن علي غیلان 105

Giama Gheber. الجامع الكبير. 137

H

Al Habs. الحبس. 196

El Hader. الحضرة. 30

Cidi Hadrachaman ben Reshed سیدی 68

عبد الرحمان بن رشید

Hage. حاجي. 17

Halizarif. علي شريف. 42

Hamder illah الحمد لله. 117

El Hamdillah al salam tiqsi. الحمد لله.

علي سلامتك 116

Hamet ben Abdelcrim. احمد بن عبد.

الكریم 68

Hamet Zeer. احمد صغير. 29

Hegira. هجرة. 121

Hid Seguer عيد صغير. 93

Homar. عمر. 32

Illah

Moorish Words.

I.

Illah enzur muleh Reshid. الله انصر
مولى رشيد 50

K.

Cidi Kirum El Hâdge. سيدى الكريم
الحاجي 17

L.

La illah la Mahumed resulala. لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله 145
Laella. ليلى 17
Lala. لالة 112

M

Mahomet ben Amet. محمد بن احمد 2
Almamora. المعورة 128
Marhaba. مرحبا 117
Matmora. مطمورة 95, 171.
Muleh Mahumed. مولى محمد 45
Mecha. مكة 145
Al Mocadem. المقدم 20
Marabout. مارابوت 162
Mosch

An Index of the

<i>Mosch.</i> مشكو	142
<i>Mufadal</i> مفضل	35
<i>Mufti.</i> مفتي	155
<i>Ali Mulud.</i> علي مولون	98

<i>Musalmin.</i> مسلم	91, 143
-----------------------	---------

Alowilicsbah, Allahiric Lulli, Ateltbah
Afa, Alarbe Afer, Alhamsa Magnib:
 الاول الصبح الخير الثالث
 العشا الرابع العصر الخامس مغرب

P.

<i>Pillow, Plaw.</i> دلاو	130
---------------------------	-----

R.

<i>Rabeb.</i> الرباب	
<i>Ramadan.</i> رمضان	93
<i>Muley Reshid.</i> مولي رشيد	45
<i>Reshid ben Mahumed.</i> رشيد بن محمد	45

S.

<i>Salam alegg, salam alegg cum</i> سلام عليكم	
سلام عليكم	17
<i>Salam alig alla enforick muley fulano</i>	
13 سلام عليكم الله افصركي مولي فلان	
<i>Salla</i>	

Moorish Words.

<i>Salla.</i> صلاة	128
<i>Sala.</i> سلا	28
<i>Muley Sheck.</i> مولی شیخ	7
<i>Sidan.</i> ریدان	7
<i>Al Souk.</i> السوق	173
T.	
<i>Talib.</i> الطالب	23
<i>Tanger.</i> طنجة	41
<i>Turkja.</i> تركية	92
<i>Zawia.</i> Leo, 146.	25
<i>Muleh Xerif.</i> مولی شریف	67

FINIS.